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Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 1
THE NATION'S HONOR ROLL 4
EDITORIALS:
Poison Versus Honesty 5
Hitler's Economics 6
More Jobs Wanted 7
ISSUES AND MEN. THE GIFTS OF THE NEW DEAL. By Oswald Garrison Villard 8
BEHIND RUSSIAN RECOGNITION. By Louis Fischer 9
RELIEF WITH BOTH MIND AND HEART. By Benjamin Glassberg 11
THE TWO WINGS OF THE BLUE EAGLE. II. THE WING UPON THE RIGHT. By John Strachey 13
PITY THE POOR SUGAR TRUST. By Frank Clay Cross . . . 15
NEW YEAR'S GIFTS FOR THE NRA. By Paul Y. Anderson . . 17
THE FIGHT FOR POWER. By D. C. Claus 18
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 20
CORRESPONDENCE 20
BOOKS, FILMS, DRAMA:
Are Reviewers Critics? By K. S. Thompson 22
Memoirs of a Diplomat. By Oswald Garrison Villard . . . 23
Grand Tour. By Florence Codman 24
Mr. Belloc's Theory of History. By Mary McCarthy . . . 24
Study of a Child. By E. R. Wembridge 25
Japanese Proletarian Writers. By Isidor Schneider 25
Shorter Notices 26
Films: Retrospect: 1933. By William Troy 27
Drama: Tempest and Sunshine. By Joseph Wood Krutch . . 28
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE 28

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SOME WEEKS AGO Washington was looking forward to a hectic session of Congress, replete with fireworks, though not necessarily anti-Roosevelt in character. Rather it was to be a session in which the supporters of the President who thought he was not going far enough would do battle with those who felt he was going too far. Now that the new session is at hand there is a general belief that Congress may prove as quiet and tractable as it was last spring. It is not easy to determine the reasons for this shift in sentiment. It took place while very few Senators and Congressmen were in Washington. Of the returning members from whom trouble might have been expected only one, Senator Johnson of California, stated frankly that he would refrain from embarrassing the Administration and would, indeed, go so far as to continue his support of the President's program in the firm belief that the country has come to the point where it must accept "Roosevelt or economic hell." A number of the other independent spirits in Congress have, however, remained ominously silent, while a few have broadly intimated that they will seek to modify the Roosevelt recovery program and restrain the President. Senators Borah and Nye, for example, have been agitating for a restoration of the anti-trust laws to their former standing, and they apparently mean to carry their agitation to the floor of the Senate. Senator Glass, too, is firmly opposed to the recovery program, though for different reasons. On the other side of the Capitol Chairman Connery of the important House Labor Committee has declared war on General Hugh S. Johnson and is said to be busy preparing legislation to curb the Administrator's authority as well as to strengthen labor's position in the NRA through further shortening of the working week and other means.

NOTWITHSTANDING these rumblings and the widespread belief that the inflationists in House and Senate will play hob with any monetary or fiscal program that does not start the printing-presses running, the consensus of opinion among political observers is that Congress will again be found tamely eating out of the President's hand. Since this forecast seems to have originated, as the newspaper dispatches put it, "in quarters close to the Administration," one might look upon it with some suspicion. Yet there is evidence that the popular tide which was running against Mr. Roosevelt a few weeks ago has turned once more in his favor. If this be true, it will doubtless be reflected in Congress. Those who believe that this change has occurred attribute it not to any fundamental improvement in the economic situation but to the fact that government funds to the extent of hundreds of millions of dollars have in the last month been poured out upon the farmers and unemployed. The former have been getting bounties for acreage reduction as well as cash loans, while many of the latter have been getting C. W. A. jobs paying from $12 to $15 a week. This has also helped the small merchants and bankers. It may turn out that this sudden flood of financial assistance has saved Mr. Roosevelt from a hostile Congress.

JUST as the government's gold-buying program is in effect merely a gratuitous subsidy to the owners of American gold mines, so the new silver policy is a gratuitous subsidy to the owners of American silver and copper mines. The government will buy practically the entire silver production of the country at 64½ cents an ounce, a price 21½ cents higher than the open-market price of the metal on the day before the announcement was made. The government, of course, has no need for the silver at all. There is no shortage of currency as such; and this move will probably do nothing to increase the net quantity of currency. As soon as the new silver certificates go into circulation, an equivalent amount of Federal Reserve notes will almost automatically be retired from circulation. Nor will the purchase of silver and the issuance of silver money or certificates do anything whatever to raise the American price level. The only way in which that could be accomplished with the use of silver would be through the inauguration of a silver or a bimetallic standard in place of the gold standard.

IN PAYING 50 per cent more than it needs to pay for silver that it does not need, the government is not even doing anything to stabilize the world silver market. The

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annual American production of silver is about one-sixth of the total world production; by taking that amount off the world silver market the government will doubtless incidentally encourage a slight rise in the world price of silver, but it will do nothing to control the future fluctuations in that price. And what good will the slight rise in the world price do the United States? The common contention of the silver propagandists is that it will increase the purchasing power of the Orient, thus enabling it to buy more American goods. This contention is without substance. The only important country on a silver standard is China. China's purchases in the American market constitute at best a minute part of total American exports—less than 4 per cent. Moreover, our exports to China actually show a smaller percentage of decline since 1929 than our total exports do. Total exports show a drop of 71 per cent from the 1929 level; exports to China show a drop of only 65 per cent. The decline in China's purchasing power as a result of the fall in silver is almost entirely mythical. Such a decline affects China's trade merely in the same way as a depreciation in the value of any other country's currency affects its trade. The new silver policy is likely to prove as unsound politically as it will economically. This sop to the silver interests, instead of keeping them quiet, will probably encourage them to make even more extravagant demands.

"DON'T stifle legitimate stock trading by imposing government control on the Stock Exchange," the defenders of Wall Street have been proclaiming. "Let the New York Stock Exchange establish its own regulations to stamp out malpractices." With this refrain in their ears, observers have been treated recently to a first-rate exhibition of the tricks responsible for much of the prevailing pressure for strict regulation of stock-trading practices. The Atlas Tack Corporation is a small concern which recently expanded its products to include bottle caps, thereby gaining a share of the speculative interest attached to every company having the remotest connection with liquor. With this as the principal excuse, Atlas Tack stock was lifted from a low price of 1½ early in 1933 to a high of about 30 last fall, more than double the balance-sheet value given the shares. On December 4 the stock suddenly burst into activity, 5,200 shares changing hands. On December 13, 14, and 15 transactions averaged almost 9,000 shares a day. In the meantime, a so-called stock-market "advisory service" in Boston was deluging potential suckers throughout the country with urgent telephone calls and telegrams recommending immediate purchase of Atlas Tack common. By these devices the price of the stock was raised to 34¾ by December 15. The next day, to the accompaniment of rumors that "something was wrong," the bottom dropped out of the market for the stock, and it closed at 21⅝. On the next trading day it closed at 14½. In all a total market value of $1,871,000 was erased in little more than two days. After the State Attorney-General's office had announced that it was conducting an investigation, the New York Stock Exchange admitted to the press that it had been "watching closely all transactions in Atlas Tack Corporation shares for the past six weeks." With all its "watching," the Exchange could apparently see no reason why it should intervene in the public interest. How far, then, would it be likely to go to curb a large-scale pool meaning much more to its members?

SECRETARY HULL'S PLEDGE at Montevideo that no government need fear intervention by the United States during the Roosevelt Administration is at least a hopeful sign. We cannot undo the misery we have caused by our blundering in Latin America, but we can make partial amends. The growing importance of markets for our products in the countries to the south also makes it good business for the United States to give unequivocal guaranties that we shall stop meddling in affairs which concern only those who have invested money abroad, fully aware of the risks, and who seek to have the United States government protect those loans. Little comfort will be found by these interests in the Secretary's declaration that no nation has the right to intervene in the foreign or domestic affairs of another. Mr. Hull's pledge will mean little, however, unless the United States promises not only to intervene no more abroad but also to relinquish altogether its control in Haiti. In a recent letter to Dr. Harry F. Ward, Acting Secretary of State William Phillips showed a reactionary point of view when he attempted to defend continuance of financial control of Haiti throughout the life of the outstanding bonds. It was not encouraging to read Mr. Phillips's effort to justify the executive accord of last August which is almost identical with the treaty the Haitian senate rejected unanimously and which imposes obligations on Haiti in excess of those required in the loan agreement of 1922. Shortly before he sailed for South America Mr. Hull received a telegram urging him to arrange to end financial as well as military control in Haiti prior to the Montevideo conference. Such a step, instead of the policy represented in the Phillips letter, would pay huge dividends in good-will and trade.

THE GOOD EFFECT of Secretary Hull's commitment against interference in other countries will, of course, be more than undone if the convention on "the rights and duties of states" is ultimately thrown out in the United States Senate. And it is all too likely that this will happen. There will, at least, be strong Senatorial opposition to any agreement which involves abandoning our ancient prerogative of telling other people how to mind their own business. One promise made in the last week of the conference, however, will almost certainly be sustained: the American delegation, on instructions from Washington, thought better of its refusal to adhere to the convention granting equal nationality rights to women and signed with the rest of the nations—making the vote unanimous. This act we may accept as a fairly substantial crumb of comfort.

ACQUITTAL of four of the five defendants in the Reichstag-fire trial is good news as far as it goes. It indicates that there is still reason and moderation in the German courts and—as witness the urgent defense of Ernst Torgler by his counsel, Dr. Alfons Sack, a Nazi—courage in the German bar. Torgler and the three Bulgarians, although found innocent of arson, have not yet been set free. They have been placed under "protective arrest," and the furious wave of protest from the Nazis which greeted their acquittal would seem to point to the wisdom of such protection for them. The three Bulgarian Communists are to be exiled; there are rumors that Torgler will be held and tried for high treason—in which case one can only be apprehensive of the outcome. The judges, in handing down their verdict,

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took occasion to declare the attempts to connect the Nazis with the fire, chiefly through the "Brown Book of the Hitler Terror" and the efforts of the International Jurists' Commission, to be "baseless slanders," utterly without foundation. It was evident, they declared, that Van der Lubbe had had accomplices and that they were Communists, although the prosecution had been unable to connect the other Communist defendants with the arson. Van der Lubbe himself received the verdict in the blank silence which has characterized his attitude at the trial as a whole. He is past help. The others still need the watchfulness of the rest of the world if they are safely to regain their freedom.

FROM TIME TO TIME *The Nation* has been taken to task by its readers because of what they consider its intemperate condemnation of the Nazi government in Germany. Nevertheless, it cannot help viewing with the utmost concern the new German law for the sterilization of the unfit. If one could imagine a committee of entirely unbiased and equally competent scientists who were, because of their justice and skill, to decide which of their fellow human beings should be deprived of the ability to propagate their kind, one might conceivably indorse the proposition. Nothing that the Nazis have done so far inspires the hope that they are either competent or unprejudiced. The law calls for the sterilization of some 400,000 men and women, the congenital idiots being the largest class affected, although the regulations will include also hereditary deafness and blindness, schizophrenia, chorea, physical deformity, and chronic alcoholism. Questions to test feeble-mindedness include: "What is the boiling-point of water?" "What are the capitals of Germany and France?" and "Who discovered America?" Do incorrect answers to these questions necessarily imply idiocy and inability to propagate children that will not be a charge upon the state? The Nazis say, Yes.

AFTER A TRIAL that was marked by moderation and restraint on the part of the community, impartiality on the part of the presiding judge, and extremely able pleading by defense counsel, the Negro, George Crawford, was found guilty of the murder of two white women in Leesburg, Virginia, and sentenced on December 16 to life imprisonment. The Crawford case had attracted a good deal of attention because of the refusal of Federal Judge James A. Lowell of Boston to issue extradition papers on the ground that no Negroes had been on the grand jury that brought the indictment. Crawford, generally believed innocent until the trial, confessed to participation with another man in a robbery which resulted in the death of the two women, and was held by law equally guilty of murder, although he denied the actual killing. His accomplice is still at large and Crawford doubtless escaped the death penalty as a possible material witness against him if he is ever apprehended. The question of the right of Negroes to serve on juries in the South gains added impetus as a result of the Crawford case. Judge McLemore, who presided, did in fact refuse to permit Negroes on the panel from which the Crawford jury was chosen, and Charles H. Houston, Negro attorney, who conducted the defense, took exception to his ruling. But in other parts of Virginia Negroes are actually serving on juries. In Hanover County Circuit Court, in that State, Judge Frederick W. Coleman lately imposed a $10 fine for contempt on a white farmer who refused to sit on a grand jury with a Negro. In Norfolk recently a jury of eleven white men served with a Negro foreman, and in Tennessee, North Carolina, and Kentucky Negroes are being included on jury panels, both for grand and petit juries.

ON DECEMBER 19 Edward Larkman, an innocent man, who for eight years had been in a New York State prison under a life sentence for murder was pardoned and released. That he is alive at all is due to the fact that Alfred E. Smith, when Governor, commuted his sentence from death to life imprisonment. Could there be a better argument against capital punishment? Only one of eight witnesses at his trial identified him—a school teacher who declared that she saw his profile for two seconds and his full face for three. On this slender testimony Larkman was sentenced to the electric chair. Let no one tell us that this is an excusable accident, that there must be an occasional miscarriage of justice. In Professor Edwin M. Borchard's overwhelming volume, "Convicting the Innocent," case after case is listed. We would cite also the instance of the two Negroes lately arrested and "grilled" for a week at Belair, Maryland, because a white girl declared she had been kidnapped by two men of color. It was lucky for them that they were not lynched during their confinement, at the end of which the girl admitted that she had not been kidnapped at all but had merely invented the story to hide her movements. Larkman is going to demand compensation—and friends are rightly going to try to get the legislature to make amends for his years of wrongful imprisonment. He declares that his mother and one of his children died as the result of his conviction. Larkman languished in jail for four years after the guilty man confessed his crime because Governor Roosevelt thought he should be retried, for which special legislation was necessary but not forthcoming. Apparently he would have stayed in jail permanently if the Buffalo *Times*, a Scripps-Howard newspaper, had not demanded his release.

NO RECENT EVENT carries so many kinds of satisfaction to so many different kinds of people as the sale by the Soviet Government to the British Museum of the Codex Sinaiticus, a fourth-century manuscript of the Bible, for $510,000, half of this to be contributed by the British government. The Vatican, no doubt, will be glad that so precious and holy a manuscript has passed out of heathen hands. The Kremlin, we may take it, is pleased at having exchanged a relic of "the opiate of the people" for 510,000 pieces of good Christian money—a tidy sum which will aid in the industrialization of Russia, which is in turn designed to wipe out the need for either money or a future heaven. In England the Tories, as the vessels of culture, will rejoice in the possession of this priceless book; Ramsay MacDonald will be gratified at having proved to his conservative friends that even a Labor Prime Minister is no barbarian; and the Communists will find effective ammunition in the spectacle of a Labor Premier buying a fourth-century Bible manuscript with one hand and cutting down the twentieth-century dole with the other. The only person we can think of who is presumably unhappy about the deal is Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, the noted book collector, to whom the manuscript was offered only a year ago for $1,250,000. He must feel that he has missed the mark-down of his life.

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The Nation's Honor Roll for 1933

FOR six years *The Nation* has printed at the beginning of January a list of Americans who seemed to have deserved well of their countrymen in public affairs and in the arts in the preceding year. This year it seemed desirable also to include mention of outstanding accomplishments, together with the persons and organizations who helped bring them about.

National Recovery

For their bold attempt to organize the chaotic forces of industry and finance to the end of conquering the worst depression in American history, we cite the PRESIDENT and his ADMINISTRATION with particular reference to the following persons:

FELIX FRANKFURTER, for his share in writing the Securities Act, but more especially for his help in drawing into the various government services men of broad social vision and disinterested enthusiasm; FRANCES PERKINS, Secretary of Labor, the first woman to become a member of the Cabinet, who made an impressive though unsuccessful attempt to force upon the leaders of the steel industry a code which would protect labor and the public; JEROME N. FRANK, general counsel of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, for shrewd and creative work in behalf of social control and long-range planning; A. A. BERLE, JR., for writing in collaboration with GARDINER C. MEANS one of the most revealing studies of industrial organization and control, "The Modern Corporation and Private Property," and for his services to the Administration as consultant and adviser in various important fields; FERDINAND PECORA, for exposing, in his capacity as counsel of the Senate Banking and Currency subcommittee, the disastrous and scandalous malpractices current in the world of finance; JOHN COLLIER, who was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs after a lifetime of devotion to the welfare of the American Indian, and who has taken the first steps toward restoring the Indian lands to tribal rather than individual ownership and toward abolishing the hated government boarding-schools; MARY VAN KLEECK, for an effective public statement of the shortcomings, especially in its treatment of the labor problem, of the National Recovery Administration.

The Recognition of Russia

Fifteen years of hostility toward one of the most energetic, powerful, and aspiring nations of the world have at last been happily followed by diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Government by the United States. During the period from 1918, when the Lenin Government took office, to the beginnings of the negotiations between President Roosevelt and President Kalinin, so ably conducted by Maxim Litvinov, many persons, in the face of bitter opposition from every section of the country, persisted in urging recognition of the Russian government. Among them *The Nation* selects the following:

SENATOR WILLIAM E. BORAH, who has jeopardized his high political office by an unceasing campaign on behalf of the Soviet Government; the NEW YORK TIMES for printing and WALTER DURANTY for writing, during the decade and a half of Soviet rule which has now passed, the most enlightening, dispassionate, and readable dispatches from a great nation in the making which appeared in any newspaper in the world; COLONEL HUGH L. COOPER and the AMERICAN-RUSSIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, for patiently acquiring the facts about Russia and for making them available to American business men and the public; WILLIAM C. BULLITT, first American Ambassador to the Soviet Government, who as early as 1919 urged the recognition of Russia in a report to President Wilson, and who has maintained since then his contact with and regard for the Russian people.

The Repeal of Prohibition

Whatever the theoretical advantages of the prohibition of liquor as originally conceived, such degrading evils had grown up in connection with the "noble experiment" that the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment had become imperative. We cite the following for especially effective work toward that end:

ALFRED E. SMITH, as the outstanding long-time fighter for repeal in the Democratic Party; NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, as an equally valiant champion in the Republican ranks; JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR., for his courage in publicly abandoning the position originally taken by him and his family in favor of prohibition when he realized that the scheme was not working; MRS. CHARLES H. SABIN, head of the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform, for persevering and intelligent effort.

Hitlerism Combated

The most disgraceful page in the history of 1933 is the cruel and irrational fury which the Nazis have vented upon Jews and radicals in Germany. Among the protestants against this newest national outrage we cite the following:

EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER, of the Chicago *Daily News*, formerly head of the foreign correspondents' association of Berlin, for his admirable book "Germany Sets the Clock Back" and for his forthright insistence upon the right of the press to gather and send the news of Fascist outrages; ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS, New York attorney, for his attempt to get justice for the defendants in the Reichstag fire trial; GEORGE S. MESSERSMITH, United States Consul-General in Berlin, for upholding the rights of American citizens in Germany; ALVIN S. JOHNSON, director of the New School for Social Research in New York City, for bringing a group of ousted German professors to this country and establishing them as the staff of the University in Exile; SHERWOOD EDDY, who as leader of a group of American educators visiting Germany seized the occasion of a reception by the Carl Schurz Society to denounce Nazi policy and state what a bad effect it was having on world affairs; CALVIN B. HOOVER, for his revealing book, "Germany Enters the Third Reich."

Lynching

Although this particular form of murder which takes place only in the United States remains a dark stain upon our national honor, and although more than twice as many lynchings have taken place in 1933 as in the previous year, the fight against lynching and against "legal lynching" in

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the courts goes on strongly and with unrelenting courage. Among the many persons and organizations that might be singled out for their stern opposition to mob murder, *The Nation* selects the following:

THE SOUTHERN COMMISSION FOR THE STUDY OF LYNCHING, which continues its admirable work of impartial and illuminating investigation of a question which has all too often been discussed with more passion than fact; the BALTIMORE SUN papers, for persistent, biting, and judicious editorial criticism of lynching; the GOVERNORS OF MISSOURI, TENNESSEE, MARYLAND, OKLAHOMA, AND KANSAS, of whom the last two, by prompt and forthright action, succeeded in preventing lynchings, and all of whom condemned the menace of the mob in unequivocal terms; JUDGE JAMES E. HORTON, of Alabama, for setting aside the verdict of guilty in the case of Heywood Patterson, of Scottsboro, in his second trial; JUDGE J. V. GADDY, of Missouri, who charged a grand jury that lynching was "murder, nothing but cowardly, despicable murder"; and SAMUEL S. LEIBOWITZ, of New York, who under threat of bodily harm has twice conducted the Scottsboro defendants through their trial, and who declares himself willing to do so until the last possible tribunal has been appealed to.

Censorship

A few years ago the progress of literature in the United States was seriously threatened by the legal suppression of such books as Dreiser's "Sister Carrie" and Cabell's "Jurgen." For a time it looked as though the Society for the Prevention of Vice would successfully impose upon the American people its own prurient standards. By now the tide is definitely turned and it seems probable that no serious work of art is likely to be condemned by the courts. During 1933 three persons earned the right to special praise for the part they played in preserving the freedom of literature. They are:

MORRIS L. ERNST, of New York, who has for years led the legal fight against censorship, who has just successfully defended Joyce's "Ulysses," and who, more than any other one person, is responsible for the changed attitude of the courts; UNITED STATES JUDGE JOHN M. WOOLSEY, who ruled that "Ulysses" was not obscene and who wrote an admirable decision laying down various general principles likely to be of great importance in deciding future cases of this kind; MAGISTRATE BENJAMIN GREENSPAN, of New York City, who dismissed the case brought by the Society for the Prevention of Vice against Erskine Caldwell's "God's Little Acre," and who ruled that the opinion of recognized literary critics was more relevant than that of the professional smut specialist.

The Theater

During the season of 1932-33 the American theater seemed threatened with financial collapse. On the other hand, this fall saw a revival of prosperity and the production of an unusually large number of interesting plays. Special credit should be given to the following persons:

WILLIAM A. BRADY, BROCK PEMBERTON, and SAM H. HARRIS for their largely successful efforts to control under the NRA the evils of ticket speculation; the members of the GROUP THEATER for the production of "Men in White"; JED HARRIS for producing the remarkable English play "The Green Bay Tree"; EDWARD J. BROMBERG for his interpretation of the role of the old doctor in "Men in White"; HENRY HULL, who as Jeeter Lester in "Tobacco Road" gives one of the finest performances of recent years.

Poison Versus Honesty

REXFORD G. TUGWELL, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, has prepared a bill which, if it is enacted at the coming session of Congress and then effectively enforced, will drive the poison-drug and fake-medicine industry out of business. Under existing law manufacturers and sellers of bottled, canned, and packaged medicines must not allow false or unsubstantiated statements to appear on the labels of the goods they have for sale. They are under no such restriction, however, in advertising these goods elsewhere. In promoting sales through the newspapers and magazines, by mail, and over the radio they may make all sorts of fraudulent claims for their products. Not only may they do so, but hundreds of these manufacturers have been doing so. The Tugwell legislation, which has come to be known as the Copeland bill because Senator Copeland of New York is sponsoring it in Congress, would broaden the scope of the Pure Food and Drugs Act to make unlawful all fraudulent advertising of proprietary medicines and other drugs through whatever medium such advertising or publicity may be addressed to the buying public. While the Copeland bill would also make other changes in the law, primarily with a view to strengthening its administrative features, the section which would drive cheating and misrepresentation out of the advertising of drugs and medicines is by far the most important.

The proposed legislation has brought to Washington one of the most vociferous and determined lobbies the national capital has known in recent years. Not even the bankers, who have been working night and day for months to suppress the Senate banking inquiry and to emasculate the Securities Act, have been as industrious as the patent-medicine lobbyists. Of course, the drug lobbyists and their editorial spokesmen in the trade journals are wise enough to pretend that they sympathize with the purpose of the Tugwell-Copeland bill. They disagree only with its language. For them it is too frank, too blunt. Under the projected amendment any drug product that is actually a specific cure—and there are only two or three specific cures known to medical science—may be labeled and advertised as such. If it is only a palliative, the label and advertising must state so in plain language. And if it is neither cure nor palliative, but merely a mixture of weed juice and water with no therapeutic value whatever, this fact also must be set forth in unmistakable terms. But the drug lobby does not like such plain speaking. It believes that unless a palliative can also be labeled and advertised as "an aid in the treatment" of a given disease, the package-medicine industry will be "unjustly wrecked."

The opposition to the Tugwell-Copeland bill does not stop there. It contends that the measure would endow the Secretary of Agriculture with "czaristic" powers and give his agents authority to go snooping into the most confidential affairs of pharmacists and manufacturers of medicines and cosmetics. Some critics have gone so far as to assert that the bill would deprive violators of the right of trial by jury. Section 23 does state that "the findings of fact by the Secretary of Agriculture shall be conclusive." If the law is to be effectively administered, the facts as to the ingredients and scientific value of drug products offered for sale must be de-

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termined by someone, and it is only logical that the responsibility for the determination of these facts should rest with the Secretary of Agriculture. This does not mean, however, that he need or will hire an army of snoopers to ferret out the secrets of the patent-medicine men. It would be simpler, safer, and less costly to have their goods analyzed in a government laboratory. Nor would the findings of fact be final. The bill declares that they must be arrived at "in accordance with the law," which, of course, far from giving the Secretary "czaristic" authority, makes his every act in this connection subject to review by the courts. The courts could declare invalid any decisions or findings which they believed unreasonable or arbitrary.

It is a curious fact that while the pending measure has aroused such intense opposition, the Pure Food and Drugs Act, which it merely seeks to amplify and extend in order to drive out dishonest advertising, has been more or less effectively enforced for twenty-seven years. Most of the provisions of the Copeland bill which are now under attack are also to be found in the present law. The operation of these provisions has not brought the dire consequences to mankind or the drug trade which the lobbyists have been predicting in connection with the Copeland bill. "However," to quote Assistant Secretary Tugwell, "the 1906 law does not cover advertising, except that appearing on the label. As a result, false and misleading statements have merely moved from one place to another." It is because the Copeland bill would make misrepresentation of drug products unlawful under any circumstances that the trade has now suddenly discovered that we are faced with calamity and economic ruin if this bill becomes law.

It is not only in Washington that the opposition is active. Pressure is being brought to bear on the various publications and other media that carry patent-medicine advertising. They are being bluntly told that passage of the Copeland bill would deprive them of millions in revenue, and since hundreds of publications depend largely upon advertising of this sort, it is only natural that the pressure of the opposition should be having a decided effect. In addition, men of local and even wider prominence are being called upon to speak against the bill. The opposition has important political contacts as well. The Drug Institute, for example, an outspoken opponent of the measure, has as chief counsel J. Bruce Kremer, former Democratic national committeeman from Montana, who has many important friends in the conservative wing of the Democratic Party.

There can be no doubt that there are some defects in the bill as it stands. We hope that they will be corrected in committee or during the debate in Congress. However, not one of its many critics has yet brought forward a convincing answer to the major challenge of the proposed legislation. The bill is aimed solely at those quacks who prey upon a public ignorant of the complexities and phraseology of medical science. It will not hurt honest and truthful manufacturers of medicines and cosmetics. In the words of *Editor and Publisher,* which is supporting the Copeland bill: "It is not easy to see how any producer of a legitimate product can be hurt by honest claims." By joining forces with the quacks these legitimate producers are not only endangering the lives of thousands of people who are annually tricked into buying poisonous drugs and cosmetics but are casting suspicion upon their own integrity.

Hitler's Economics

IF doubt remains in anyone's mind as to the surrender of Hitler's National Socialism to big business it must have been dispelled by the speech of Gottfried Feder, the creator of the National Socialist economic program, at Hamburg on December 15. Addressing a group of business men, he won their applause by his declaration that the "state must not engage in business itself as a competitor," and that there must be no further government ownership of the means of production. He denounced the policy of the republic under which, he said, governmental bodies had invested no less than 30,000,000 marks in 1,235 different enterprises, and proclaimed the utter subservience of German labor to the capitalists when he added: "The Labor Front has nothing to say in respect to business leadership." "Don't be afraid your commerce will be nationalized," he continued.

This is a remarkable statement indeed for the man who wrote into the original Hitler platform the planks which called for the nationalization of the entire import trade, of all trusts and monopolies, and of all banks, the abolishment of the "slavery of interest" (*Zinsknechtschaft*), and the remodeling of every large industrial enterprise into a profit-sharing undertaking. When Hitler announced, after a six-hour session of his Supreme Economic Council, that private business would not be interfered with, and loudly voiced his opposition to any second, or anti-capitalist, revolution, his surrender was obvious. Now it is confirmed by the man who gave him such limited economic ideas as he possesses.

"For the time being the capitalist supporters of Nazism are in control," points out an anonymous writer in the London *New Statesman and Nation,* who, that journal says, is an economic authority of international reputation. How long will they remain in control? How long can Hitler hold in check those millions of his deluded followers who joined his banner in the belief that he would give them something closely approximating communism, and would live up to his promise to expropriate all the estates of the great landowners and break them up for the benefit of the peasants and workers? This commentator, whose article is unquestionably the most comprehensive and detached survey of the German economic situation that has yet appeared, believes that Hitler can hold on if he and his associates can bring about some sort of "widespread economic contentment." To us it appears that he can hold on a long time if he can control his Brown Shirts (for whom, as the government admits, a special concentration camp has now been established) by means of his Pretorian Guard (his Black Shirts) and the Reichswehr. We hear interesting stories which go to show that many of the Brown Shirts are getting restless, but the mass of the people are too deeply drugged by the lies and glamor of the Hitler regime to make any important protests at the present time. Even if numbers of his followers find out that Mr. Facing-all-ways Hitler does not mean to give them a genuinely socialistic regime in the interest of the masses, they will still have to wear their chains indefinitely. The writer in the *New Statesman and Nation* shows that the most important bit of Nazi legislation yet passed is that for the "arbitrary sectional confiscation" of Jewish property. Against this decree there can be no appeal to the courts, for the latter have been

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informed that their business is no longer to protect the rights of individuals but to safeguard Nazi policies.

How is Germany progressing economically? Here this writer has some interesting opinions. The monetary policy of Herr Schacht he finds sound, conservative, and clever; it has been greatly helped by two things—America's repudiation of the gold standard, which "eased the burden" of indebted landowners and industrialists by 40 per cent, and the shrewd device of "blocked marks," with one value at home and another abroad, which has helped to bolster up the collapsing export trade. Conditions in Germany have, of course, been aided by the general improvement in world trade; also the index of production has been rising and the home market expanding as the result of government expenditure and the beginning of a public-works program. But no large-scale revival of trade is in sight, and no increase in the demand for consumers' goods. The turn-over of department stores in October of this year was 20 per cent below that in the same month of last year.

This authority believes that Nazism has not yet converted Socialists and Communists into upholders of the capitalist system. Foreign trade, he feels, is likely to continue to shrink. He believes that the Nazi state, in pursuit of its "tribal autarchy," that is, self-sufficiency, may be able to do without a good many commodities now considered essential. As he puts it: "A movement looking backward for its social ideas and expecting their fulfilment from a stationary 'vocational' social order can easily reduce standards of living by an appeal to ancient virtues." In this process, he thinks, private fortunes will diminish and there will be standardization on a much larger scale than "the loathed standardization in the U. S. A." There will be order and efficiency, but life will be on a comparatively low plane. It is not impossible, he thinks, for economic isolation to succeed, but at a terrific price. For it will mean the death of all progress.

More Jobs Wanted

FRANCES PERKINS, the Secretary of Labor, notes in her report for November, lately published, that approximately 2,500,000 persons have found employment in manufacturing since March. How many workers have been added in other fields it is impossible to say. There are indications, however, that relatively few new jobs have been created or old jobs refilled in farming, transportation, construction, the service industries, clerical work, or the professions. Perhaps another 2,000,000 men and women have found employment in these lines, though this is only a rough guess. Moreover, the index of the American Federation of Labor, which, though far from perfect, remains the most reliable in the country, suggests that something more than 10,000,000 workers, not including farm hands, are still jobless. The soundness of this estimate is indicated by the fact that there has been no marked decrease in demands for unemployment relief, according to reports received by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. There is always an increase in demands for assistance as winter approaches, and while the rate of increase this year is somewhat smaller than it has been in the past three years, it is still not small enough to suggest any substantial reduction of unemployment.

It is worth pointing out that the estimate of the Department of Labor is based on the month of March, when unemployment was abnormally great even when measured in terms of economic depression. To the unemployment resulting from the industrial slump was added temporary unemployment for some hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of workers who were idle because the banks were closed and not because of any inherent difficulties in the industries. Most of these men and women were immediately restored to their jobs when the banks were opened again. It would be more accurate to take the month of January as the base for measuring the change in the employment situation. In that month the A. F. of L. index showed more than 13,000,000 jobless, while the Alexander Hamilton Institute, whose survey included farmhands and other workers not covered by the Federation of Labor, estimated that the unemployed totaled more than 17,000,000. Each of these totals was subsequently swollen by the temporary industrial suspension resulting from the bank crisis in March. But if we disregard the fact that the Labor Department's estimate is dated from the panic month, and instead figure its reported increase in employment from January, we find that the total number of jobless still runs somewhere between 10,500,000 and 12,500,000.

Any way we look at it, and though we concede that even the most reliable estimates are largely based on guesswork, we see that there has been no important decrease in the ranks of the unemployed. Some time ago General Hugh S. Johnson and his associates in the National Recovery Administration were asserting that the operation of the NRA would put 6,000,000 men back to work "by September." The law has now been in effect for more than six months, twice as long as the period set by General Johnson, and yet the goal has not been reached. This we point out in no hypercritical way, but merely to suggest that ballyhoo, no matter how patriotic or sincere it may be, solves no economic problems.

The patriotic thing for the Roosevelt Administration to do is to admit that in so far as its recovery program was designed to take up the slack in employment it has been far from successful. This defect surely cannot be corrected by more ballyhoo. Yet that seems to be the course that has been adopted. While General Johnson is making no more extravagant claims, Secretary Ickes, the Public Works Administrator, and Harry L. Hopkins, the Civil Works Administrator, are talking bravely of the millions of men their efforts have succeeded in putting into "real jobs at real wages." However worthy such employment may be from the standpoint of the moral and physical well-being of the workers, it is at best no more than a civilized form of unemployment relief. An industrial society founded upon productive capitalism cannot live on public works alone. So long as we have to deal with the realities of such a society we must admit that until we can find productive jobs for the millions now idle and for the additional millions engaged in non-productive activities there can be no sound economic recovery.

From the point of view of its own philosophy it would be well for the Roosevelt Administration to reconsider and overhaul its recovery program to the end that more real jobs might be created. The demand of organized labor and the Socialists that the working week be reduced to thirty hours should have first place in any such reconsideration.

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Issues and Men

The Gifts of the New Deal

WE are entering a new year fraught with enormous possibilities of good and evil for the people of the United States. It is no exaggeration to say that the very fate of our democratic institutions still hangs in the balance. Today let us run over some of the great things that have been accomplished by the NRA under the New Deal, so that we may hearten ourselves thereby. There is no necessity of being under any delusion about these achievements. Some of them may not be permanent; many of them may be wiped out if the liberal Administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt is succeeded by a reactionary one. That may come to pass, and yet somehow or other I feel that certain things have been accomplished that will be of lasting value, that ideas have been set afloat in the land that can never be returned to the source from which they came, or be wholly forgotten. Lenin showed us what it means to let loose an idea in the world and to back it up by some practical applications. But whether the NRA fails or succeeds, I am submitting herewith some of the achievements which I think all liberals can unite to applaud and give thanks for. In this desperately foolish old world we have come to that pass when we can only face the future by counting up each day just what we have gained, however little that may be, and by fastening our minds upon that rather than upon the battles before us, the odds to be overcome, the losses and defeats sustained. Of course we do not know whether in 1934 we shall find our way back to normal prosperity and reduce our unemployment to bearable figures. The experiments undertaken are so vast in their scope that I do not believe that even President Roosevelt himself can have a clear picture of all that is happening; I should be willing to wager that the Cabinet cannot. Certainly no editor can claim to be familiar with every phase of what we so readily call the New Deal, least of all myself. But here are the things worth reciting, things that spell a great human advance for which we cannot be too grateful:

1. First and foremost the change in the *spirit* of the Washington government from a government by, for, and with Business to an Administration which, whatever its errors, is obviously laying its emphasis upon the welfare and the progress of the plain people of the United States.

2. The establishment of the principle in our national legislation of the right of American labor to bargain collectively and to be represented by its own chosen delegates—a principle that will still have to be fought for in the years to come.

3. The establishment of the right of the federal government, as the leading partner in the enterprise, to take part in any controversy between labor and capital.

4. The revitalization of the American labor movement; the rescuing of the members of the American Federation of Labor from the follies and stupidities and narrowness of purpose of their own leaders; the spreading of the idea of unions to the automobile and steel industries, to journalists, even to chorus girls.

5. The practical abolition of child labor, with certain important reservations, and the consequent resurrection of the movement to ratify the proposed Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution, with the result that fourteen States have ratified it since January 1, 1933, twenty in all to date.

6. The practical abolition of sweatshop labor in our American cities.

7. The establishment in law by the federal government of the minimum-wage principle (this despite the fact that owing to looseness in the code many unscrupulous employers have made the minimum wage their maximum).

8. The establishment of codes of sound ethical practice in American industry, with the resultant elimination to date of no less than *one thousand* improper or unethical methods of conducting business.

9. The acceptance of the elimination of cutthroat competition in industry as a new objective of American economic and political policy.

10. The appointment of a coordinator of railroads, Joseph B. Eastman, and the undertaking by him of the only complete survey of our railroads, their needs, and the wants of their passengers, ever made in our history.

11. The beginning of national planning of industry in the United States by the federal government, and the control by it of the exploitation of the individual by predatory interests and human greed; the supervising of competition; and the management of great combinations of capital in the interest of the consumer and of the general public.

12. The establishment—at Muscle Shoals—for the first time of the right of the United States government to engage in the business of manufacturing, distributing, and selling electrical power, after years of hopeless battling for this policy.

13. The enormous awakening of the American people under the stimulus of the NRA to new ideas and to the necessity for new economic readjustments and beliefs.

14. Direct government aid to the starving unemployed in complete contravention of the position taken by Herbert Hoover and by Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt in New York; the practical establishment of a dole, and the complete enunciation of the principle that it is the federal government's duty to see that no American starves.

15. The reestablishment of the credit of the government, and the reopening and, to a limited extent, the rehabilitation of our banks.

16. The restoration to a marked degree of the confidence and courage of the American people; the courage and resolution shown by the President from the moment that he took office. "For," to quote Dean William F. Russell of Teachers College, "we thought we were lost, but we have been saved. Hope had vanished, and confidence has been restored."

Oswald Garrison Villard

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Behind Russian Recognition

By LOUIS FISCHER

Moscow, December 3

STATE DEPARTMENT officials showed Litvinov a number of documents proving that Woodrow Wilson sent General Graves with troops to Siberia in 1918 not to fight the Bolsheviks but to check the imperialistic plans of Japan on the Asiatic continent. Litvinov had known this all the time. General Graves had said it in his "America's Siberian Adventure." Others had said it too. The State Department archives revealed nothing new to Litvinov, but the fact that this dossier was unsealed for his benefit and the fact that in consideration of America's anti-Japanese intentions in 1918 he renounced a Soviet counter-claim are of tremendous significance. For Litvinov, the dropping of a counter-claim was a gesture toward Soviet-American friendship; to the State Department it must have been clear that the Commissar would put only one interpretation on the opening of its files: that Washington was still anti-Japanese and wanted Moscow to know it.

When the President and the Commissar discussed Siberia in 1918 they naturally had to discuss Japan in 1933. I have no definite information that they did. But I have reason to believe they did. Unlike a number of capitalist states, the Soviet Union is not interfering in Chinese domestic affairs. Moscow wants to see a strong united China, and although the prospects of such a development are slim indeed, its policy in this regard corresponds with that of the United States. President Roosevelt knows that in most other respects, too, Russia's attitude toward Far Eastern affairs is very much like his own. The State Department, accordingly, may take it for granted that in any future test of diplomatic strength with Japan the Kremlin will be disposed to manifest greater sympathy for America's position than for Japan's.

There is evidence that the Roosevelt-Litvinov understanding and recognition have had the desired effect in Japan. "The vernacular newspapers," the London *Times* correspondent wired from Tokio on November 19, "allege that some business men, who remain anonymous, welcome recognition as checking the aggressive dreams of certain Japanese." Premier Saito and the clique around the Mikado have been encouraged by the assumption of diplomatic relations between America and Russia. Their struggle against War Minister Araki and the military fascists is far from won, but they mustered enough courage a few weeks ago to start a campaign among the industrialists and merchants of Japan for support for their moderate "Shidehara policy" in foreign affairs. To the extent that the civilian elements in Tokio gain in the tug against war with the mad militarists, Soviet and American security grows.

Two considerations can strengthen the advocates of peace in Japan and reduce the threat of war in the Pacific. They are Soviet-American cooperation and the reinforcement of Russia's defenses. Recognition by the United States has increased Soviet prestige and has indicated to the Japanese that in the event of their attack on Siberia there would be at least a chance that Russian-American trade might expand. Immediately after recognition was announced, Yureniev, the Soviet Ambassador to Japan, issued a statement emphasizing the significance in consolidating world peace of a rapprochement between two nations with 290,000,000 inhabitants. "The Japanese," writes the London *Times* Tokio correspondent, "who lie geographically between the two nations, are not likely to miss the point." The question of war or peace in the Far East during the next year or two will be determined by the result of the inner political conflict in Japan, and the more Japanese who see Yureniev's point the weaker Araki's case becomes. For in the final analysis the military fascists must be able to say to the nation: if we attack the Russians we can beat them; if we attack the Americans we can beat them. But as Russians and Americans draw closer together, this assertion carries less conviction. If Japan were in a situation like Germany's, a foreign union might be wind in the sails of the reactionaries. Japan, however, is not a defeated nation surrounded on all sides by enemies. She is rather an aggressive nation making new enemies by reason of her aggression, and here the popular consciousness of serious outside opposition to those aggressive intentions can react to the detriment of the jingo elements and deter them from further aggression in much the same way, perhaps, as the Kaiser might have been deterred in July, 1914, had he known for certain that England would fight on the side of France. Mr. Roosevelt made an extremely clever move on the eve of recognition: he ordered part of the United States fleet withdrawn from the Pacific Ocean. Had he kept the fleet there and recognized Russia, the Japanese might have been alarmed, and alarm is the stuff on which militarists flourish. But the transfer of some naval strength to the Atlantic reassured Tokio diplomats as to America's peaceful mood and helped the Japanese civilians somewhat to resist the big-army and big-navy men's raid on the exchequer. Then Soviet recognition, a cheaper and more effective form of pressure on Japan than battleships, brought home to a large number of Japanese that it was impossible to crush both America and Russia and that it would therefore be wiser to put some trust in the machinery of peace.

Today Japanese diplomacy is in retreat before the Soviet Union. The retreat commenced late in September when Gregory Sokolnikov, Soviet Assistant Foreign Commissar for Far Eastern affairs, told Ota, the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow, that Japan would be held responsible for all anti-Soviet acts in Manchuria and that Manchukuo was a Nipponese puppet. The Moscow press thereupon broke out into violent attacks on Japanese imperialism and explained that the Kremlin had no intention of making any further reductions in the selling price of the Chinese Eastern Railway. On October 9 the Soviet newspapers broke all precedents by publishing a series of secret Japanese documents revealing Japanese anti-Soviet plans. Japan did not reply. During the period of the anniversary celebrations in November Bolshevik placards, spokesmen, and dailies, which are now usually very guarded in their references to foreign policy, frankly branded Japan as an aggressive and militaristic nation. Finally, when a squadron of Japanese bombers and scout

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planes flew over Siberian territory on November 3, Moscow warned Tokio that the next time this happened the aeroplanes would be fired at. The Japanese have been taken aback by this sudden reversal from Moscow's mild and insult-swallowing policy of the last two years. When Ota asked what it all meant, a Soviet publicist said it meant just one word: "Stop." The Bolsheviks have called Japan to a halt.

The next Soviet firmness vis-a-vis Japan is easily accounted for. The country is now in a confident mood. The harvest was good. Collectivization is definitely established. Industrialization makes steady progress. The Bolsheviks have not the slightest doubt that their army is better than Japan's in fighting spirit and mechanical equipment; that the Japanese army has never encountered a major Western force and that it exhibited its poor offensive qualities at Shanghai, while the Red Army has been tested in the fire of battle and proved its worth; that the Red air fleet is stronger than Japan's and could bombard Japanese cities while Japanese planes could never reach important Soviet population centers; that Russia's war industries for the manufacture of tanks, automobiles, aeroplane motors, guns, and so forth are superior to Japan's; that the U. S. S. R. stands far ahead of Japan as a heavy-industrial nation; that despite the weakness of the Soviet fleet, infantry and aeroplanes could repulse any Japanese attack on Vladivostok; and, to sum up, that Japan could not win a war against the Soviet Union. The Trans-Siberian Railway is a weak link, but the Soviet government is constructing another line from Orenburg to Orsk to Stalinsk to Minusinsk, crossing the Trans-Siberian at Taischet-Kirensk, and is probably building other railroads as well as motor highways on which information is not available. Moreover, Moscow has practically completed its program of creating a Far Eastern military autarchy which makes the Khabarovsk region largely independent of European Russia as far as ammunition, clothing, food, and soldiers are concerned.

The Japanese know all about these developments and are trimming their diplomatic sails accordingly. For two years, from September, 1931, when Japan suddenly descended upon sleeping Mukden, to September, 1933, the Bolsheviks persisted in a painful policy of patient tolerance. Several times they offered Tokio a non-aggression pact. Tokio refused. "We need a free hand," Hoki Hirota, now Japanese Foreign Minister, said to me. The Bolsheviks offered Japan a commercial treaty. Japan refused. The Bolsheviks suggested the exchange of trade and good-will delegations. Japan did not react seriously. The Bolsheviks proposed the sale of the Chinese Eastern. Japan assumed that Moscow had decided to cede the railway and was only asking for a nominal selling price in order to "save face." Finally, when the Japanese began to arrest Soviet officials of the C. E. R. and prepared to seize the railroad, Moscow banged down its mailed fist—mailed during two years of intensive activity in Siberia—and declared: "We have had enough." The Japanese understood this kind of language where they had not understood the language of peace and conciliation.

The resulting Japanese diplomatic retreat commenced before President Roosevelt took the first steps toward Soviet recognition. But that retreat has now been hastened by recognition. The retreat and Litvinov's stay in America have helped the Russians to give more definite shape to their Far Eastern policy. This may now be roughly outlined. Moscow will sell the Chinese Eastern for what it is worth, say, $100,000,000 in gold. Moscow, however, will not recognize Manchukuo *de jure* except under exceptional circumstances. Recognition of Manchukuo would prejudice the territorial integrity of China, a principle to which the U. S. S. R. and the United States are both equally committed. The non-recognition of Manchukuo, however, must not be taken to mean that Russia is interested in a sphere of influence in Northern Manchuria. The Soviet Union has definitely renounced that sphere of influence. In 1926 Japan proposed to Moscow the division of Manchuria into Japanese and Soviet spheres. Moscow rejected this imperialistic suggestion seven years ago, and still abhors anything that smacks of it. Moscow is out of Manchuria and is reconciled to having Japan as a land neighbor intrenched in Manchukuo. When I asked a maker of Soviet foreign policy why, if that is the case, they should not recognize Manchukuo, he said: "Why should we? We are thinking of China." I suspect they are also thinking of America, which is violently opposed to Manchukuoan recognition. Some time ago the Kremlin might have recognized Manchukuo as part of the aftermath of a Soviet-Japanese non-aggression pact, but the new ratio of military power in the Far East and the establishment of Russian-American diplomatic relations have somewhat modified that attitude. Perhaps Moscow will now sign such a pact if Tokio strongly urges it. The Soviet government wants peace with Japan. Russia has absolutely nothing to gain and everything to lose from war. But the past has convinced the Soviet government that a mild, moderate, and humble attitude is not conducive to peace. The United States government probably takes the same view of the non-aggression pact which Japan has offered it.

Russia's new military strength in Siberia coupled with the incipient Soviet-American rapprochement is a guaranty of Far Eastern peace. The worst threat to that peace is the Japanese fascist movement which seeks to make capital out of a most difficult economic situation. The Japanese army and navy will spend 875,000,000 yen in 1934 out of a total federal budget of 2,017,000,000 yen—43.3 per cent. Instead of allocating more money for the relief of peasants and industries, the reactionaries are asking for additional military expenditures. Politicians who do not comply help their assassins to become national heroes. The atmosphere in Japan is electric with possibilities of violent change. Recognition of Russia by the United States has served notice on the military hotheads that no matter what they do at home, they must be more circumspect abroad. France, Russia's new friend, is likewise interested in diminishing the war danger in the Pacific, and should take steps to remind Japan in very concrete fashion of that interest. Ultimately, the Powers may have to get together to save Japan from her social-economic-territorial dilemma and from herself. For if she attacks Russia she may break her neck; and that would have disastrous world consequences. But it is probably too much to hope that the bourgeois nations, who today watch the Franco-German problem, which has already provoked two wars, prepare the field for a third, will have enough sense to safeguard the capitalist system from a serious body blow in Eastern Asia. Communist Russia must do it, and capitalist America will assist her in doing it. Moscow's new firm policy vis-a-vis Japan is the best thing for Japan and the best means of improving Soviet-Japanese relations.

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Relief with Both Mind and Heart

By BENJAMIN GLASSBERG

Milwaukee, December 20

AN examination of the methods and policies of the public relief agencies in most of the larger cities reveals that one of the few cities where relief has not been grossly inadequate is Milwaukee. During the entire depression Milwaukee County has given assistance to every family in need. At no time has it been faced with the prospect of having to discontinue relief on a certain date, as was actually the case in Philadelphia in 1932. At no time has it been obliged arbitrarily to remove thousands of families from the lists because of lack of funds, as was the case in Detroit in 1931. And Milwaukee approached its task without creating any new or emergency organization for the purpose, as so many cities have done, especially since the establishment of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in June, 1933.

Milwaukee was fortunate in having at hand a department which could function in this emergency, namely, the Department of Outdoor Relief, which is one unit of a closely knit group of county institutions designed to meet the needs of the community with respect to physical and mental health and dependency. Until 1929 it was an obscure county department aiding several hundred families a month with provisions. In 1930, as the need for relief increased month by month, the department expanded its personnel and facilities. The County Board assumed as a matter of course, on the basis of the "poor relief" section of statutes over half a century old, that it was its duty to take care of all those in need and that no private welfare agency or Community Chest could be expected to assume this constantly increasing burden. By 1933 the department had a staff of nearly 600, many of them college graduates and some with experience in private social work. It was giving relief to 32,000 families and 6,000 single men. To this group of more than 150,000 citizens of Milwaukee it was supplying not only groceries and milk, but all the other necessities of life, including coal, shoes, and some clothing, and was regularly paying rent and gas and electric-light bills, wherever necessary. Recently it has supplied stoves, stove repairs, mattresses, and other household necessities as well.

In spite of the adequacy of its general relief policy, Milwaukee has been subjected to some criticism for its reliance on the commissary system. Milwaukee does not use the grocery-order plan in supplying food. Nor has it been able to furnish its families with cash, with the exception of some 5,500 families who since the beginning of 1933 have been employed on the work-relief program and paid entirely in cash. Supplies for relief families in Milwaukee are purchased through a central commissary in carload lots on specifications and bids. Only foods of the highest grade are bought. After being packaged at the central commissary, the food is sent by truck once or twice a day to the twelve branch stations located in various parts of the county. These branch stations are generally housed in large buildings formerly used as garages and resemble a grocery store in their arrangement.

Families on relief are visited in their homes by an investigator who is able to determine what food the family has on hand and what sorts of food, if any, it does not use. An order is then listed on a printed card and sent to the branch station, generally a week in advance of the family's visit to the station. When the client, so-called, calls for his groceries, his card is found and the order filled. The time of the client's visit is fixed in advance and no more than twenty or so are scheduled to come at the same time. There are no crowds in the station. The whole transaction is as orderly and expeditious as being waited on in a chain grocery store.

The amount and variety of food has been carefully worked out over a period of years by the county dietitian, in cooperation with the medical association and the leading pediatricians. The variety of food items supplied has been constantly increased, so as to prevent too great monotony. A cookbook has been published and widely distributed to enable families to plan their meals wisely. Through the cooperation of the public schools and the Milwaukee Vocational School, all the students in the home-economics courses have been taught to make efficient use of the foods issued by the relief department. As a result of this policy, the health of the children of Milwaukee has been maintained on a rather high plane, as is indicated by a report submitted by Dr. Stanley G. Seeger, president of the Wisconsin State Medical Society, to Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins on October 5 last. Medical leaders from all parts of the country were called to Washington by Miss Perkins to discuss the dangers of malnutrition among the people. After a careful study of the records of the County Dispensary, the County General Hospital, and the Milwaukee Children's Hospital, Dr. Seeger reported as follows:

> Malnutrition among children of poor families in Milwaukee County is practically negligible. From a nutritional standpoint, the health of children in families getting county-relief supplies is on a higher level now than it was before the depression.
>
> There is no evidence of pellagra, a disease which develops chiefly among undernourished children.
>
> Most of the State, basing diets for poor-relief families on balanced food standards set by the Milwaukee relief department, shows little evidence of malnutrition.

This is not an argument for bigger and better depressions. It is merely proof that through the operation of a well-managed commissary and a carefully planned diet, malnutrition may be averted.

Largely owing to the great saving resulting from this somewhat communistic method of feeding people, Milwaukee has been able to do what practically no other city can boast of, namely, continue the regular payment of rent for all unemployed persons unable to pay it themselves. During the greater part of 1932 and 1933 this service averaged approximately $250,000 a month. To those social workers who condemn the commissary because it robs the individual family of the right to choose its own food and to buy where and

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what it pleases, our answer is that if it saves enough money to prevent families and children from going through the harrowing experience of eviction every two or three months it is highly desirable—even though it means that persons must forgo choosing their own food at their favorite grocer's.

The department has not been unmindful of the importance of preserving the morale of its clients and of saving them from all possible embarrassment. For this reason, although at considerable added expense, every family is visited in its own home once every two weeks, instead of being obliged to come to the relief offices. Each worker has a case load of approximately 140 families a month, calling for an average of 14 visits a day. This number will now be materially reduced. Incidentally, the home-visiting system makes possible a closer check on the earnings and conditions of each family. In fact, about 3,000 families voluntarily withdrew from the relief lists at the time of the inauguration of the home visits. It is now possible, as a result of this plan, to provide for the special diet needs of diabetic, tubercular, and other ill persons requiring special treatment. In many cases expensive and elaborate diets are supplied.

One of the most interesting activities of the department until the Civil Works Administration program was established on November 15 was the work-relief program, developed in the fall of 1932. We were impressed with the fact that a great many persons took relief unwillingly and infinitely preferred to work for it if given the opportunity. Also many were losing the habit of work and some form of regular employment would help to reestablish this habit. At the same time there were many necessary public-works projects which could not be completed for lack of funds. It was therefore agreed that the Department of Outdoor Relief would undertake to help the various cities and towns in the county to develop such public-works projects as were socially necessary and desirable. The municipalities were to provide skilled supervision, necessary materials, tools, and workmen's compensation, and the department would supply as many men as were needed and pay them at the rate of fifty cents an hour for unskilled labor and the union rate for skilled, the number of hours being dependent upon the amount of relief which the family was getting. The Relief Department was to make no attempt to supervise workers after they were referred for work.

No client was required to work. The plan was voluntary in every respect. Since there were at no time jobs enough to go around, it would have been absurd to make work compulsory. After a man went to work, if at any time he desired to quit he was free to do so and he could automatically return to the ranks of those receiving direct relief. There was, of course, an inducement to work, for these families were paid in cash—an amount sufficient to meet the cost of their provisions, milk, rent, fuel, shoes, and gas and electric bills. In addition, a small sum ranging from $2 to $3 a month was added to the budget to cover various incidentals. As the price of food went up, beginning with June, the families' budgets were increased accordingly and more hours of work added to the schedule. During the first month or six weeks the department continued to grant provisions and other forms of aid, and for a few weeks there was some duplication in relief. Still further to help the men who chose work, arrangements were made with shoe dealers and coal companies to provide families with these necessities at the same prices paid by the department, and a working agreement was made with the local grocers that they should give some discount on the presentation of a card identifying the customer as a worker on the relief program. Arrangements were also made with the gas and electric companies to grant the men certain discount privileges not permitted to their regular customers. If the worker lived two miles or more from the job, the department supplied carfare.

During the summer months the pay roll for the 5,500-odd men at work amounted to approximately $200,000 a month. The system seemed to be regarded with satisfaction by practically all the workers. There was a definite feeling on the part of the men, who received their checks twice a month, just as all other county employees did, that they were supporting themselves through their own efforts. They worked efficiently and well, according to the testimony of their foremen and supervisors. Some men with large families found that it paid them much better to continue at work for the county than to accept a position in one of the large factories which began to open during the summer. In addition to the material improvement made possible by the pay check, many a difficult family situation was ironed out when the man went to work instead of brooding idly at home.

A novel activity for a relief department is the work of the securities division, organized a year ago. We found that there were many families with some assets—stocks or bonds, a mortgage on some property, savings tied up in a closed bank, or building-and-loan stock. These were potential assets, but their owners were unable to turn them into cash to enable them to purchase their immediate necessities, except at a great sacrifice. Under the law a family must be entirely devoid of means to be eligible for relief. However, since it seemed unjust to insist that the family sell its assets at a time when there was no market, a plan was developed whereby if a family assigned such assets to the department, they would be held in trust until such time as the owner might choose to sell. In the meantime the necessary aid was extended. If the owner could sell his assets profitably, they would be released and he would then repay the department the amount of aid granted. To date approximately $385,000 in frozen assets has been assigned to the department.

Another service has been in the field of insurance. This was begun on April 1, 1933. By arrangement with some of the larger insurance companies, mainly those which sell industrial-insurance policies, it is now possible to readjust insurance policies of families receiving relief when they cannot continue to pay the premiums or are carrying too much insurance. Under the guidance of an expert in this field, the insurance policies of hundreds of our families have been subjected to careful scrutiny, and with the advice and cooperation of the Life Insurance Adjustment Bureau of New York City have been readjusted to fit their needs. At the same time cash reimbursements have been made available to the families concerned to pay premiums for a year in advance, and to net them $150,000 in addition.

Milwaukee has recognized from the beginning that single men, whether they are homeless residents or transients, are as much entitled to consideration as men with families. Early in the depression, through the Central Council of Social Agencies, the Travelers' Aid Society was supplied with a larger staff to enable it to function more effectively, and all single persons applying for aid were referred to this agency,

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rechristened the Transient Service Bureau. If applicants were residents of the county, they were then referred to the Outdoor Relief Department, from which they received approximately the same aid that families received, namely, provisions, rent, heat, and so forth. Men not able to prepare their meals are cared for on the so-called meal-ticket plan, that is, they are supplied with a weekly meal ticket good at one of the restaurants on the approved list. Shelter at one of the downtown lodging-houses is also furnished, and such clothing as is needed. All transients are cared for by the Transient Service Bureau through its own funds. Wherever possible, transients are returned to their homes after proper social investigation. There is no passing on of cases, no limiting of care to two or three days, no use of the jails or police stations for lodging purposes. Through the foresight and imaginative planning of the Central Council of Social Agencies, the Municipal Center for the Unemployed was established two years ago in a vacant loft building. The Board of Education accepted this center as a unit of the public-school centers, and supplied trained recreation workers. The building was furnished with the usual games, billiard and pool tables, a space for basket ball, volley ball, and the like. Musical instruments and work benches with tools for shoe mending and repair of clothing were supplied by interested citizens. Visitors to the center do not have to go through any form of registration or answer any questions. There is no burdensome discipline. Night after night it is filled to capacity with happy-looking, homeless men, busily engaged in whatever pursuits they fancy at the moment.

The relief program developed by Milwaukee was, to be sure, expensive. It would have been cheaper to adopt the "eviction-evasion" rent policy, which has been used on so large a scale during the depression; it would have saved many million dollars a year. It is costly to maintain a corps of capable workers and administrators of a high type. The county and the State have made every effort possible to raise by taxation the necessary sums for unemployment-relief purposes; the already high State income tax has been doubled. The county has also issued several million dollars' worth of relief bonds. Not until September 1, 1932, was it necessary to apply to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for assistance. From that time until September 1, 1933, 80 per cent of Milwaukee's expenditures was reimbursed by the federal government. Since September 1 reimbursement has been at the rate of 70 per cent.

Relief, however, even if it is adequate, can never be a substitute for a properly planned public-works program to provide the unemployed with jobs. Men and women must be supplied with work. That is what they demand. No system of government or social order will long survive which does not fill this need, and at wages which will provide for necessities *and comforts*.

The Two Wings of the Blue Eagle

II. The Wing upon the Right

By JOHN STRACHEY

IN the previous article some account was attempted of the inflationary aspects of the New Deal. It is now time to attempt the more difficult but much more important task of predicting the effect which the varieties of government regulation implied by the codes of the NRA and the processing taxes of the AAA will have upon the permanent structure of American capitalism. We transfer our attention, that is, from the "left" or inflationary wing of the Blue Eagle to the "right" or organization wing.

Many people undoubtedly suppose that this program represents a step toward socialism. Others regard it rather as the inauguration of a system of "organized capitalism," of the reform of capitalism in such a manner as to make it a stable, coherent system, free from the risk of such catastrophes as the crash of 1929. In order to form any opinion of the validity of these views it is necessary to arrive at some conception of what it was in the existing capitalist system which produced the crash. For until we have discovered this we cannot begin to say whether the provisions of the New Deal check or accentuate those features of capitalism which are at the root of the trouble.

Stated in its very broadest possible terms, it seems to me incontrovertible that there are three main characteristics or tendencies in capitalism which, taken together, produced the last crash—and for that matter all those crashes which preceded it.

The first of these fatal characteristics is the most obvious and at the same time the most superficial. This is the tendency, exhibited by all capitalist systems, to the over-expansion of credit. (This may be called the tendency to inflation, but to inflation in its most subtle, least recognizable form.) We can all now see, with that prescient hindsight which characterizes business men and economists, conservatives and radicals alike, that the years 1924-29 were marked, especially in America, by a grandiose and indiscriminate expansion of credit. Every kind of entrepreneur was able to borrow vast sums of capital, from every kind of banker, financier, or insurance house. With this credit he could and did create vast new productive resources.

The tremendous energies and skill of the American people were devoted to creating new factories for the production of almost everything under the sun, to bringing new land into cultivation, or to raising the productivity of old land to an unparalleled degree. And all this was done in the perfect faith that the products which these new factories and farms would soon be pouring out upon the world would all be sold at a profit.

These new means of production came into being without the least attempt to correlate them one to another, without the faintest hint of planned or coordinated purpose. So long, however, as an extremely high proportion of the workers of the United States were engaged, not in producing things for use, but in producing these new means of production, these new factories, mines, and farms, everything went

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well. But sooner or later the new shafts were sunk, the new lathes were installed in the new machine shops, the new land was drained, dunged, and tractor-plowed. And then the trouble began. Consumer commodities from these new instruments of production poured forth upon the world; *and at the same moment there poured back upon the labor market the workers who were no longer needed because their job of factory building and farm improvement was completed.* Just at the moment when the capacity for production was multiplying itself a hundred fold, hundreds and thousands, and finally millions, of workers lost their jobs and ceased therefore to be able to consume. Moreover, it was discovered that ludicrous disproportions had arisen in the creation of the means of production. For example, I see that it is estimated that three times as much boot-and-shoe-producing plant was created as the American people genuinely need for the production of their boots and shoes, even if they were all able to buy them.

What is the capitalist remedy for this situation? Obviously there is only one. It is to prevent such an orgy of indiscriminate credit expansion from ever happening again. It is to restore capitalism to what Lawrence Dennis has so neatly called a "pay-as-you-go basis." What you have got to do, even some of the capitalists can now see, in order to prevent another slump is to prevent another boom. You have got to see to it that the capitalists only build new instruments of production for a given tangible market which is already there; that they carry on production only with such capital or credit resources as they have got—paying as they go. Thus production and the market would not get so outrageously out of touch with each other.

Now what does the New Deal do about all this? As everybody knows, it does the exact opposite of what Mr. Dennis and every sane capitalist expert advises. Called in to prescribe for a patient who has succumbed to an orgy of credit expansion, the doctors of the New Deal prescribe—a new orgy of credit expansion! Capitalism is, without any encouragement, an inveterate inebriate. Even left to itself, it would in any case take to the bottle again. Just for the moment, however, it has an appalling headache and is strictly "on the wagon." But the doctors of the New Deal, far from trying to sustain its all too fragile temperance, rush forward with cases of Scotch.

I read in the pronouncements of the government the continual implication that it is definitely unpatriotic of business men to refuse to borrow or bankers to refuse to lend, even though the business men cannot think of anything useful or profitable to do with the money when they have borrowed it, or the bankers see any security for what they lend. The London *Times,* as long ago as September 13 last, summed up the government's policy not, I should have thought, unfairly in these words: "A good deal is being done by the Administration to browbeat the banks into lending more money to business men, and the Administration itself is ordering the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to lend money to members of the NRA."

Since then, of course, the inflationary methods of the government have become much more direct. It proved impossible to engineer a new boom by exhorting business men to borrow and bankers to lend. The government has had to resort to pumping out the money itself by the billion. It even gives it to the unemployed and the farmers, as well as to the capitalists. As we attempted to show in the previous article, the present policy is leading to an inflation which, in contrast to that of 1924-29, is neither subtle nor difficult to recognize. If the government is able by these means to create a new boom, then quite obviously it will be a boom ten times more unsound—that is, more out of relation either to real needs or to effective demand—even than the last boom. Hence it must lead to a crash proportionately worse than this crash.

The second fatal characteristic of capitalism is its tendency to form monopolies. No one doubts that in the normal course of events, and in all fields of production, big firms tend to replace small ones. Capital concentrates; the scale of production increases. Slowly but surely whole branches of production—such as the automotive industry, for example—become dominated by one or two giant trusts. Competition begins to atrophy within each industry. It becomes a violent but spasmodic struggle between the few remaining great corporations. In some cases, as perhaps in the steel industry in America today, it may for a time die out altogether within whole branches of production.

The effect upon the market of this process is also well known. The hundreds, and indeed thousands, of small capitalists and their better-paid retainers who used to conduct the industries of the country were all consumers, and very substantial consumers. They constituted the heart of the great middle-class market. Their defeat and bankruptcy by the great trusts destroys this vitally important section of the market. For even Mr. Ford, when he has killed off a thousand competing firms, can still only sleep in one bed and eat at one table.

This—the necessity for maintaining the great middle-class market, for maintaining, that is, a fairly wide distribution of wealth—was the great economic justification of the Sherman anti-trust laws, and all the other anti-combination provisions of American statute law. These provisions were not, of course, enacted out of an academic interest in maintaining the market. They were enacted by the smaller capitalists as vital and desperate measures of self-preservation. But in so far as they were effective—and they were to some extent effective—they may be regarded as a check or brake upon an inevitable process. They did, by restraining the operations of the great law of the concentration of capital, keep the whole mighty mechanism of American capitalism going.

For just in so far as monopolies are formed and hundreds of smaller capitalists destroyed by one or two great corporations, the market is narrowed; the distribution of wealth becomes more and more grotesquely unequal. Society tends more and more to split up into a vast propertyless mass unable to consume more than the bare necessaries of life (if that) and a tiny minority of super-capitalists who must somehow, somewhere find a place to reinvest at a profit their gigantic surpluses.

This picture is of course familiar, and surely, by this time, in broad outline undisputed. What effect, then, has the NRA upon this second fatal tendency of capitalism? Does it wisely attempt to check or even to reverse the drive toward concentration and monopoly? Does it reinforce the anti-trust provisions of American law? Does it foster the interests of the small man against the big? Is it preserving that vital consuming area—the middle class? Well, of course, these

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questions answer themselves. Everybody knows that in the very first paragraph of the National Industrial Recovery Act the Sherman anti-trust laws are suspended. But the NRA goes much farther than that. Before its passage the American capitalists were, to some extent, forbidden to combine. Not only are they now permitted to combine, they are in many respects legally compelled to do so. The codes of the industries actually compel the capitalists concerned to abrogate many of the most important forms of their competition, to stop competing with one another by wage-cutting, price-cutting, or by lengthening the hours of work of their workers. These are deadly blows at the whole principle of competitive business. And they are blows at precisely those forms of competition, those forms of struggle, which are principally used by the small capitalist against his bigger rivals. Notoriously, the small man can continue to exist for a time by paying lower wages, working both himself and his employees longer hours, and by cut-rate prices.

Now—if the law is enforced, at any rate—he can do none of these things. His fate is sealed. And, in fact, the one universal impression which remains in my mind after questioning, during a recent lecture tour of this country, all sorts of people in all sorts of towns of the South, of the Middle West, and of the East as to the effect of the NRA, is the answer, echoed by friend and foe of that measure alike, "Well, it is very hard on the small man."

[*This is the second of a series of three articles by Mr. Strachey. The third will appear next week.*]

Pity the Poor Sugar Trust

By FRANK CLAY CROSS

THE refusal of the Secretary of Agriculture early in October to approve the agreement on sugar quotas, which was promulgated after almost three months of bickering and arbitrating by the Washington cenferences conducted by Tariff Commissioner John Lee Coulter, threw the beet-sugar trust into another cold sweat and sent market futures tumbling from six to eleven points. With a bumper crop of sugar beets ready for the refineries in the West, the biggest crop since 1930, the crash approached the magnitude of a minor cataclysm.

On September 25 the Coulter conferences had adjourned with the proclamation that they had reached a complete agreement which required only the signature of the Secretary of Agriculture to become effective October 1. Nobody seemed to doubt that his signature would be promptly forthcoming. As the date passed, however, without any word from Secretary Wallace, consternation began to arise, culminating in near panic when he definitely declared his intention not to sign it. The agreement, he said, was not his "baby."

This action, tardy though it may be, is agreeable evidence that Washington does not intend to let the American sugar trust augment the unrest in Cuba. Incidentally, it may also indicate that President Roosevelt has found time to ponder on a vigorous petition, delivered to him in September, signed by more than 3,000 oppressed workers in the beet fields of Colorado, Nebraska, and Wyoming. At any rate it has put an end to the vociferous demands of the sugar-beet crowd, which had gained considerable ground in the Coulter hearings. At first the beet men had refused to consider any quota at all. But after their quota had been jockeyed up from 1,525,000 to 1,750,000 short tons raw value annually, and the foreign quota—that is, the quota for Cuba and Puerto Rico—had been cut down from one-half to one-quarter million tons, they finally decided the time had come to cooperate.

The statement of Secretary Wallace invalidating the quota agreement placed sugar, along with other farm products, under the supervision of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. The object of the AAA, he said, would be to work out some plan to obtain price parity for the beet growers, as for any other group of farm producers. Parity for the growers, he intimated, would mean a price of around $5.50 or $6.50 a ton for beets. What a yell went up! Beset by the NRA and higher costs of production, the sugar-beet industry, its spokesmen groaned, would fold up and die if it had to accept that price.

The complaint of the sugar-beet men might win more sympathy if they could find some more effective way to control the thoroughly unhealthy conditions in the industry—conditions for which they are responsible. No industry in America today is displaying more brazen contempt for human welfare. The Great Western Sugar Company, which makes 45 per cent of all the beet sugar produced in the United States and completely dominates the industry, has thus far thumbed its nose at the NRA. On October 2 it paid a dividend of $1,342,500 to its stockholders, while it reduced the starvation wages of workers in the beet fields—by indirect action, of course—to a new minimum, cruel almost beyond belief.

In order to appreciate fully the merciless avarice of the Great Western Sugar Company, one must know a little of its history. It was organized in 1905 with a capitalization of $30,000,000, half in preferred stock and half in common. The common stock was never sold. Instead, it was given away as a bonus to the purchasers of the preferred issue, share for share. The total investment of the stockholders was $13,600,000, and they have never put up one dollar more. In the twenty-eight years since 1905 the cash dividends paid by the company have totaled more than $94,000,000—7 per cent on the preferred stock and for several years as high as 47 per cent on the par value of the common stock which the stockholders got as a present. Not bad at all!

On November 15 the Great Western Sugar Company announced the purchase of $9,000,000 worth of stock in subsidiary companies, a purchase made out of surplus. The new stock was to be distributed to holders of common stock in the Great Western, a stock dividend amounting to $5 per share. The company officials insisted, however, that it was not a dividend but merely a move in a broad reorganization program. It was also announced that the Cache La Poudre Company, a subsidiary of the Great Western, with a capital of $7,200,000, had turned over 1,800,000 shares, $20 par

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value, to be distributed in the ratio of one share Cache La Poudre to five shares Great Western. The distribution was to be made on or before December 15. A nice Christmas present! Moreover, the Great Western declared its regular quarterly dividend ($1.75 per share on preferred; 60 cents per share on common) to be paid January 2, 1934.

The spokesmen of the trust do not deny that they have operated a profitable business, but they vehemently disclaim all responsibility for the peonage and child labor which have helped to enrich them. They declare that they are under contract solely with the beet growers, and have nothing to do with the workers. This claim is an insolent evasion of fact. The form contract which every grower must accept if he hopes to sell his beets specifies that every detail of production from start to finish must be under the direct control and supervision of the company. He "agrees to plant, block, thin, cultivate, irrigate, harvest, and deliver" the crop from a certain definite acreage, "in compliance with the directions of the company." The price which he will get per ton has also been definitely specified up to the present year.

This agreement sets the wages of the beet workers as clearly as if they were directly employed by the company. The grower is virtually a helpless middleman. In fully 70 per cent of the cases he is not the owner of the land which he cultivates but a tenant; he contracts to furnish all equipment, to be responsible for all the farm work, and to pay the field help and other expenses, in return for which he gets three-fourths of the beet crop. This division keeps him on the verge of bankruptcy, for his margin of profit is almost nil. The landlord, however, who gets one-fourth of the crop come what may, quite naturally demands the cultivation of every available acre, regardless of the cutthroat prices paid by the sugar company. Even at $5.50 per ton, the minimum price suggested by Secretary Wallace, he would make approximately $18 per acre.

Under such pressure the tenant grower has no choice but to pay his workers the lowest wages for which they can be hired. At present they can be hired for almost any wage, for the West is full of destitute and hungry families; but the grower is powerless to reap the benefit of the circumstances, even though he might wish to do so. The sugar company has got there first, slashing prices on beets to fill its own coffers at the expense of human misery.

The responsibility of the Great Western Sugar Company for the abject poverty of the beet workers does not end with the contract which it forces on the growers. It directly recruits cheap labor for the beet fields. During the late winter and early spring the agents of the company invade the cities and rural communities of the Southwest to round up ignorant Mexican workers by the train load. Every worker receives a contract to block, thin, and top a certain acreage of beets for a certain price. The number of acres allotted to him depends largely on how many children he can put to work, besides himself and his wife. There is no guaranty, however, that he will actually get his pay when the work is done. Often he is cheated out of his entire earnings on some slim excuse. The law offers him no recourse.

These greedy practices in the sugar-beet industry have given rise to conditions which are almost incredible outside the "cesspool of poverty" in Puerto Rico, using the words of ex-President Hoover. Men—able workers—are reduced to incomes of from $80 to $120 a year. Even when whole families work from sun-up till dark they still must beg for charity or starve. In August of the present year the secretary of the Colorado Relief Committee issued a report stating that 48 per cent of all federal relief money sent to the State in April, May, and June had gone to the counties in the sugar-beet districts. Thirty per cent or more of the applications for admission to the Catholic orphanages, to which the Mexicans naturally turn in an emergency, are from the families of destitute beet workers. In the beet fields one frequently sees children as young as six years of age subjected to long hours of back-breaking labor. Indeed, children ten years of age or younger make up approximately one-fifth of all the child workers. Schools are closed during the harvest season, thus cooperating with the slave drivers. Victims of drudgery, these poor children suffer further from undernourishment, and are housed in unsanitary, overcrowded hovels where sickness and death are common visitors. Child mortality among the beet workers has been shown in several investigations to average 1.5 or more per family. In the winter the workers seek the larger towns and cities, throwing themselves upon the charities for support until the growers need them again. In such manner the charities are made to subsidize the sugar trust, so that fat dividends need not be cut.

There is reason to hope that President Roosevelt has penetrated the bluff and pretense of the beet-sugar industry and seen the rottenness beneath. To satisfy its avarice, it has reduced the workers to worse than slavery, pauperized the tenant growers, mulcted the charities. Yet more, it has extorted millions upon millions of dollars from the American public by the tariffs which it has lobbied through Congress. In 1932, according to a report to the United States Tariff Commission, the value of the sugar tariff to our domestic companies was more than $7,000,000 in excess of what they paid the beet growers, including the cost of Mexican labor.

The alternate wails and threats of the sugar lobby, which have continued almost without interruption since the proposal was first made to place the industry under some form of government control, were intensified on October 14, when Secretary Wallace announced his intention of adding a sugar section to the AAA, and of putting General William I. Westervelt in charge of it. General Westervelt, now director of processing and marketing in the AAA, was formerly research director for Sears, Roebuck and Company in Chicago. What did he know about sugar beets? The section should be supervised, the beet men argued, by some man in intimate contact with the industry, such as Charles M. Kearney, president of the National Beet Growers' Association. It seems likely that Secretary Wallace and the President both realize that the beet growers are necessarily puppets of the sugar trust. These men dare not oppose the will of the Great Western Sugar Company, which holds virtually an absolute monopoly of the market to which they must sell. To appoint Kearny, or any other representative of the growers, to an important post in the sugar section of the AAA would be little different from appointing W. D. Lippitt, president of the Great Western, to such a post.

Congressman Fred Cummings of the sugar-beet district came back to Denver from Washington on October 26 with fire in his eyes, promising to organize the West in a revolt against the AAA for its attitude toward the sugar-beet industry. Almost every day the papers carried reports of his rantings. Said Cummings: "The beet growers resent slaps

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in the face from the AAA. No one has given a good reason why the stabilization agreement should be refused." All the West wants, said he, is a fair deal. After the meetings that he addressed in Utah more than 1,000 telegrams were sent to President Roosevelt. In Scotts Bluff, Nebraska, he launched a petition of protest which was signed by 46,000 citizens in the North Platte Valley.

But there is something less than complete unanimity in the industry. Nearly 1,000 beet growers, in a meeting at Sterling, Colorado, on December 4, voted unanimously not to grow any sugar beets during the 1934 season unless a new contract was obtained from the Great Western. The producers agreed that the only contract which would be acceptable to them would be one assuring them that the price per ton paid them would be one-half of the average net proceeds realized from the sale of sugar, molasses, and pulp from an average ton of beets delivered at the factory. The worm is turning! Mr. Cummings should look into this.

The Great Western finally joined the NRA in November. I have not had an opportunity to discover what difference that has made in its treatment of its own workers. Of course the field workers are not affected. Nor will they be, probably, until the American public demands that something be done to alleviate the misery of the thirty-odd thousand destitute men and women and little children who slave in the beet fields.

New Year's Gifts for the NRA

By PAUL Y. ANDERSON

Washington, December 23

NOW that the holidays are upon us, banishing dissension and firing one and all with the spirit of human brotherhood, I wish to add my voice to the general chorus of peace and good-will by remarking that of all the low, slippery, underhanded, chiseling schemes ever hatched to get around the Industrial Recovery Act, none can compare with that of the self-styled and high-sounding Machinery and Allied Products Institute—hereinafter known as the M. A. P. I., and perhaps by other and more definitive titles. The fact that its stratagems have already been recognized and thwarted by the ever-watchful Donald Richberg should not prevent either them or their authors from being known and remembered. The essence of the plan was to set up a sort of holding company of trade associations representing about fifty metal industries, this holding company to dictate the labor policies and administer the codes of the industries under it without itself being responsible for any of them. It sounds like something Sam Insull might have thought up while musing among the ruins of the Acropolis, but actually the idea appears to have germinated in the brain of another Chicagoan, to wit, John W. O'Leary, former president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, and—by strange coincidence—a manufacturer of metal products. The name of the M. A. P. I. recently burst upon a startled NRA when approximately forty trade associations, embracing manufacturers of such variegated metal products as locomotives, bakery equipment, concrete mixers, refrigerating machinery, power-transmission equipment, and jacks, submitted codes containing uniform—and uniformly bad—labor provisions. Each stated that it was a member of the Machinery and Allied Products Institute. The name of the "Institute" was new to Washington, but scrutiny of its constitution and by-laws soon revealed the nature of its purposes. They bound member trade associations to submit no codes not previously approved by the M. A. P. I., and provided that the labor sections should be identical. The President—and I mean the President of the United States—would not be permitted to change a code by executive order except by permission of M. A. P. I. members. The modesty of this provision may be measured by the fact that it was simply an attempt to amend the recovery act through a private resolution adopted by private citizens! I hear that Richberg relapsed into indecorous laughter when he came upon these documents. At any rate, he pointed out that since the M. A. P. I. itself was assuming no responsibility for any code, it was subject to the full penalties of the old anti-trust laws, and apparently was conniving at wholesale violations. O'Leary thereupon made a hasty appearance to ask that all mention of the M. A. P. I. be deleted from the codes. He and his associates are reported to believe that they can still work out some kind of a "super code authority," preserving important features of the original scheme. I suppose that eventually the obituaries will read: "They didn't know it was loaded."

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A SIMILAR epitaph will come in handy in another quarter if the investment bankers and their satellites persist with their propaganda to have the Securities Act emasculated during the approaching session of Congress. That they could actually hope to succeed with such an enterprise at a time like this is but another proof that all the dumbness in this world is not concentrated in professional wrestlers and colored stable boys. The arguments they offer against the act are incredibly puerile. They contend, for example, that the registration statement required of them is "too complicated." The answer is that those who have handled other people's money in the past should be willing to render an accounting of their stewardship if they wish to do so in the future. (The real objection is that they are unwilling to disclose their bonuses and profits.) They complain that the civil-liability provision will prevent them from getting "good directors." The answer is that it will compel them to have directors who know something about the operations of the companies. It will prevent such men as Percy Rockefeller from sitting on sixty boards. Indeed, the section was placed in the measure for the express purpose of ending corporate structures of the character that Kreuger and Insull erected. But such arguments are hardly worth answering. To me, the revealing fact is that the question of amending the act is raised at all, in view of the disclosures made by Pecora and the Senate Banking Committee. If the bankers read the newspapers and have any conception of the present

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state of public opinion, they should know that any change in the law will be for the purpose of stiffening it. They should, in short, let all dogs lie, and pray fervently to God that they *are* asleep. But what can you expect of bankers? Incidentally, it is of the utmost pertinence to ask just when Pecora expects to call Frederick Ecker, of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, to the witness stand. His name has appeared in some of the most important phases of the Senate inquiry, and always in a connection to provoke legitimate curiosity. It is high time to place him under oath and inquire: "How come?"

* * * * *

THE Weirton Steel Company defied the National Labor Board and proceeded to compel an election of company-union representatives on its premises. All day long, according to reporters who were present, it was a common sight to see an employee being marched to the "polls" with a burly company guard on each arm, while the State police of the God-forsaken commonwealth of West Virginia harried and harassed loyal workers of the steel workers' union. Roosevelt has responded by ratifying all previous actions and decisions of the Labor Board, and formally investing it with all the powers possessed by himself. But that is not enough—before many days have passed, the President will face the necessity of making certain important decisions concerning the board. The fact is that the board's record has not been satisfactory, and much as it pains me to say so, the fault appears to lie chiefly with the chairman. Senator Wagner's sincerity and devotion are above question, and in his proper sphere he functions magnificently. But he is indulgent and conciliatory, and he possesses the "judicial" mind. In consequence, the board not only is far behind in its work, but its authority has been questioned more than once. Among dishonest employers there is a growing impression that the board is "easy," and among honest employees there is a mounting conviction that it cannot be trusted. There has been entirely too much talk about "cracking down," and too little of the reality. General Johnson has been held almost entirely to blame for this, but the truth is that he has no earthly control over the board—whose members are appointed by the President—and precious little influence with its chairman. However, Congress will be meeting in a few days, and it is inconceivable that Senator Wagner will endeavor to remain as chairman while performing his duties in the Senate. He must resign one of these tasks. For labor's sake, as well as his own, it is to be hoped that he will elect to remain in the Senate, the sphere of his greatest usefulness. When that happens—as I believe it surely will—the President will be presented with an opportunity to name a chairman who will insist on action, and who will waste no time listening to gentlemen who only wish to oppress their help. He could do worse than choose Leo Wolman.

* * * * *

IT is a familiar device of some men, once they have been taken in crime, to change their names. Others move far away, grow whiskers, and join the church. When the Federal Trade Commission showed that the National Electric Light Association had been guilty of poisoning the textbooks of school children, bribing college professors to speak against public ownership, and corrupting the morals of country newspaper editors, the association disappeared, and presently there appeared the Edison Electric Institute. They might have called it the George Washington and Abraham Lincoln Society, or the Association for the Advancement of God, Home and Mother, but Edison did have some connection with electricity. Moreover, he is dead, and unable to protest. So the Edison Electric Institute—the same being the current name for the power trust—recently came to Washington in the person of Floyd Carlisle, and proffered what it was pleased to call a code of fair competition for the power business. Mr. Carlisle was meek and mild. The power people, he said, had made mistakes in the past but were now prepared to "cooperate." Examination of the proposed code revealed that it would bring publicly owned power plants under an authority set up by the private companies. It was pointed out to Mr. Carlisle that this would violate the Constitution, upon which he and his associates had so often taken their stand when accused of charging extortionate rates, and that even if this difficulty could be circumvented, the power trust—the Edison Institute, that is—would seem to be in the position of hamstringing the public-works program, one of whose aims is to create employment by lending money for the construction of municipally owned utilities. Distressing scenes ensued at the NRA, and shortly afterward Carlisle and Richberg appeared together at the White House, each manifesting by his demeanor that he was ready and eager for a showdown. When they emerged Richberg was grinning slyly. Carlisle wore a martyr's air. On top of that, it seems, the people in the Tennessee River Valley are to be loaned money with which to buy electric washing machines and electric irons, and Dave Lilienthal is to see that they are not cheated on the price. The walls of the Edison Electric Institute are sturdy and strong, and the pigs inside would dearly like to believe that the big bad wolf of the White House will never succeed in blowing their house in. But they are frightened.

The Fight for Power

By D. C. CLAUS

THE power trust has gone through all the motions of tolling its own death knell and attending its own funeral. At least the public press has recorded that on February 15, 1933, a small group of presumably reformed and penitent pilots of the National Electric Light Association met in the offices of the late lamented and held a wake. At the burial service all the most dignified and absolutely indispensable formalities were observed, suitable resolutions were read and adopted, and the public press was duly informed because it seemed desirable that the dear public and Congress and the respective governments of the forty-eight States of the Union should be properly impressed with the fact that the N. E. L. A. had committed hara-kiri.

After those in attendance had paid glowing tribute to the deceased, the master of ceremonies, George B. Cortelyou, president of the late N. E. L. A., president also of the Consolidated Gas Company of New York, director also in twenty-odd other utility or affiliated companies, appeared in an entirely new role. With the nonchalance of an experienced

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magician he drew out of the dark and secret recesses of the N. E. L. A.'s burial vault a most innocent-looking, lily-white live rabbit bearing a label on which appeared in neat lettering the name Edison Electric Institute. So the Institute was born, and the magician Cortelyou was installed as its president. In an address delivered on that occasion Mr. Cortelyou said: "I can assure you that under the Edison Electric Institute the best work that has been done by the N. E. L. A. will be carried forward." There need be no doubt that self-preservation and self-perpetuation will be a part of "the best work."

The many just grievances of the public against the tactics of the power trust have been recited too often to need reviewing here. It is sufficient to recall that the utility companies have consistently and persistently used every means, fair and sometimes foul, to build up monopolies and impose upon the already heavily burdened public rate schedules that provide scandalously high margins of profit. They have succeeded in establishing and maintaining rates for power to municipalities and industrial users that were and are excessive in view of the cost of producing current.

It now appears that these very rate schedules, almost arbitrarily imposed, are responsible for the revolt that is now brewing among the large power users. Throughout the country, municipalities and industrial plants in surprising numbers have decided to cease paying annually huge sums of money into the coffers of the power trust. They have bought or are buying individual power plants and are manufacturing the needed current at a cost which is only a fraction of the amount formerly paid to the local utility company.

Even New York City has been invaded by this trust-busting epidemic. Since December, 1932, in the very heart of the New York Edison Company's most efficiently served and most profitable territory, at No. 1 Park Avenue, an independent power plant is serving a nineteen-story office building which had formerly been paying, at the rate of 2.65 cents per kilowatt hour, $45,000 annually to the power company. The Chicago Pneumatic Tool Company installed the machinery without a single dollar paid in advance. They expect to collect its cost out of the savings it will effect for the owners of the building. According to the contract, the plant in ten years will not only pay for itself but show for the owners a profit of $190,000, or about $19,000 a year, besides furnishing all the power they want.

The owners or managers of hundreds of other buildings, hotels, and industrial concerns have adopted the same procedure. The last few years have also shown a steady increase in the number of smaller municipalities that have cut loose from the domination of the power interests and erected their own power plant. Most of these installations have resulted in impressive reductions in the cost of current for the use of the municipality, and in some instances profits from sold current have been so large as entirely to eliminate the necessity of local taxes. The list of municipalities that have taken this step is long and is steadily growing. Among those that have been able through operation of their own power plants to eliminate all local taxes are South River, New Jersey, with a population of 6,600; Spooner, Wisconsin, with 2,300; Chanute, Kansas, with 9,900; Pawhuska, Oklahoma, with 6,500; Ponca City, Oklahoma, with 16,000.

A measure of the inroads such independent installation appears to be making is found in the fact that the country's largest firm dealing in Diesel generating plants has sold within the last seven years over 8,000 units with an aggregate output of 2,000,000 horse-power. Out of that total over 1,000 plants represented purchases by various municipalities. Industrial companies bought over 1,000,000 horse-power. Obviously these very formidable figures represent a still more formidable total revenue now lost to the power trust. Purchases of independent plants are expected to increase as soon as economic conditions improve and industrial activity is renewed. Meanwhile the power trust is fighting the invasion with its customary tactics.

In Pennsylvania, in the center of one of the power trust's most extensive transmission networks, a municipality less than two years ago bought its own power plant. An ally of the power company, in an effort to arouse dissatisfaction with the municipal service, has installed in his factory some fifty-horse-power motors which are connected with the local lines. These motors are turned on and off at frequent intervals and often at the most inopportune times, in order to cause flickering and a temporary drop in voltage throughout the system and thereby inconvenience other users or possibly interrupt service. But the citizens refuse to be dissatisfied. The town is saving money. It finished its year with an $11,000 surplus, reduction in taxes are in prospect, and the complete elimination of local taxes may ultimately follow.

An important manufacturer located in one of the industrial areas of the Atlantic seaboard made a study of power costs and found that through purchase of an independent plant he could cut his expenses very materially. He contracted for the purchase of a unit, to be paid for out of savings, and was preparing for its installation when he was asked to call on his banker. The bank held some of this manufacturer's notes and he was told politely that unless he canceled the contract for an independent plant those notes would be called. Since it meant bankruptcy he canceled the contract, and the power company, which had not appeared at all in these proceedings, retained a large customer.

Another manufacturer, also a large customer of a power company, had a somewhat different experience. Since he did not owe money to any bank he could not be squeezed so easily. He contracted to instal an independent power plant and paid a deposit to apply on its purchase price. Shortly afterward, however, he "changed his mind," and the reasons given included certain concessions, including reimbursement for the deposit he had paid, with the power company's compliments. Other large power companies have found it expedient to use contract forms whose text is printed in small type, particularly those portions relating to the length of the term for which the contract runs and provisions for additional billings at higher rates if the required amount of current is not used. When a large user decides to instal his own plant he may discover that his contract still has two, three, or four years to run and that short-rate billings will be so large that he might better cancel the order.

Always farsighted, the power trust has even found that certain State legislatures have perhaps unwittingly enacted laws that now make it practically impossible for small communities to purchase their own power plants, unless the manufacturer assumes all risk and does all the necessary financing. Most Eastern States have such laws. In Central Western and Far Western States in which no such legislation has as yet been enacted, the number of municipalities

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that have built their own power plants is growing much faster.

Obviously this invasion of the domain of the power trust will be extended substantially as soon as economic conditions permit freer and more extensive financing of such installations. It is reasonable to assume that as this menace to the security of the power trust increases, organized resistance will grow apace. Perhaps the new Edison Electric Institute will keep its mantle of purity for a little while. But who will believe that its sponsors, trained in the hard-hitting N. E. L. A., will sit by with their hands folded while a process of decentralization reduces their profits?

[*This is the twelfth of a series of articles on electric power and the consumer.*]

In the Driftway

ONE of the Drifter's favorite stories had to do with the mother who was trying to avoid paying carfare for her little boy, on the ground that he was under six, and when the conductor of the street-car protested that the child looked older, replied: "Can I help it if he worries!" Some such answer might be made now, in times of industrial unrest and economic uncertainty. None of us can help it if we are obliged to worry. But if our cheery advertisers are to be believed, we really do worry unnecessarily, and the cause of our anxiety is not far to seek or hard to remedy. The Drifter sees substantially the same picture everywhere he looks. There is a young man or a charming young lady leaning, head on hand, in an attitude of utter dejection. Underneath is some such caption as "Worried today?" and at the bottom is the name of the cure. Unfortunately the diagnosis seems to vary with the commodity which the advertiser seeks to dispose of to the public. Are you worried? You have a sore throat and should gargle with Glugg's Aspirin. Are you downhearted? Wash your underwear with Bluebell Soap and be the most sought-after girl in the office. Do you suffer from dejection? Constipation is the great American disease and Blott's pills will cure it. Tired? Sad? Lonely? Anxious? Smoke Dromedaries and steady your nerves. Open a savings account and get rid of the blues. Chew Dum's Gum and cure halitosis. Or take a spoonful of Bluebottle's Milk of Acidulation and never doubt that you will be the Life of the Party.

* * * * *

LIFE would undoubtedly be a simpler affair if in truth our ills could be treated so easily. If every young woman who found herself without dancing partners could wash with a new kind of soap and turn into a Mae West overnight; if the man who is not succeeding in business could just take a pill and be made vice-president of the company forthwith; if a certain brand of tobacco really kept one from losing one's temper; if white teeth really solved domestic ills; if a light over the kitchen sink made mother permanently happy—the revolution would be indefinitely postponed and the good old capitalist system could sit back in its chair and draw a long breath of relief. For if one nostrum did not cure us, there would be a number of others that we could easily try. Among them all we must surely find the way to health, wealth, and happiness. Indeed, one suspects that the American people are busy right now in making the rounds from soap to pills and from pills to washing powders to find the end of the rainbow. Otherwise, our advertisers, being hard-headed gentlemen who probably do not take their own prescriptions, would not spend good money on this form of pep talk. It must pay. Possibly what they are doing in the large is catering to the universal capacity for self-deception, for unwillingness to face the bitter truth. For Mary Ann knows well enough why she is a wallflower, only she won't admit it. And poor Brown is perfectly aware of his own shortcomings in the head which make his promotion impossible. But both of them read a highly colored story about some other Mary or Brown who was relieved of his God-given deficiencies of beauty or brains by a magic potion. Others have found a Fairy Godmother. Why should not we all? This is the secret of our advertisers' success. Why worry? Take a pill and everything will be all right in the morning.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

The Mission Menace

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

There has appeared in American life during the depression a force which, seen at first hand, must alarm any intelligent observer. I refer to the several major charitable agencies which now find their largest activities in the field of giving relief to unemployed single men. One such agency houses in New York City alone over a thousand men. The conditions and influences at work are tending to make of these men paupers and enemies of society; and I plead with all students of economics and social problems, even of ethics, to come and examine the methods and aims of these giant missions.

The pauperizing influences, which I realize must be common to all "institutions" whose purpose is to "relieve" people, whether jobless, insane, or afflicted with old age, are three in number. They are the features which have made such institutions a by-word for misery and futility. During the depression, hundreds of thousands of unemployed have come to know the inside of an "institution" and have learned a new name which sounds the depths of contempt—a "mission-stiff."

A "mission-stiff," recognizable as a type all over the world, is one who has a regular job with the agency or institution. He personifies the first pauperizing circumstance, which may be described as the relation between keeper and inmate. This relation, somewhat like that between guard and prisoner, tempts both parties to anger and friction. I take orders from the men in the furniture establishment like an employee, when I work my required time during the week. When I move my tray along the counter in the dining-hall, I am not a customer but an inmate, and have to take orders from the men in charge. If the spoons are dirty or the coffee cold or if there is not enough to eat, I have no right to speak about it; to behave properly I must sit where I'm told and be quiet; and I can comfort myself by reading the framed Scriptures on the walls.

There is thus ruled out that equilibrium of freedom, typical of capitalism—the fact that the usual person takes orders when he is an employee or shopkeeper, but gives orders when he is a customer. The inmate instead must take what it is the keeper's pleasure to give him, whether at work or at the dining table. What if there is no clock in the clubroom, or not enough benches, and you must get written and stamped permission to

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take a bath? Of course the food and service are all free (except for three days' work a week or as required) and the door is open if you wish to leave.

My first day's work was in the furniture store. About an hour altogether was spent in moving beds and tables; the rest of the time I sat around or admired the fine finish on the repaired furniture—a finish bespeaking unhurried application of low-cost labor. The second day I worked at scrubbing a floor, washing a stairway, and dusting the under side of another stairway—with confidential instructions to "go slow." Here I discovered the second pauperizing influence: the function of human labor in an institution is not primarily to produce goods or services; it is not primarily even to produce profits. It is mainly conceived of as keeping idle hands busy. The consequences of this perversion are bound to be terrific. If the inmates of the lodge where I stay were trained and perfected in self-governing, we could reduce the three days weekly to one necessary day. But instead, it is a house divided against itself, and no good can come of it until the set-up is changed from a "profit" basis—without even making profits—to some democratic collective basis.

The third demoralizing feature of mission relief is methodical starvation. Suppose you had lived for two months on the following menu, or variations of it, eked out with stale buns bummed from a bakery: Monday, 7 a.m., corn mush, white bread, coffee; 6 p.m., salmon loaf, macaroni, white bread, coffee. Tuesday: 7 a.m., oatmeal, bread, coffee; 12 m. (if on work day) soup, bread, coffee; 6 p.m., plate of beans, bread, coffee. Could you dig a ditch, help tear down a house, or do a day's work washing windows? Why don't these men get out and rustle more food? The reason is, the next bowl of soup is served two hours from now; let us sit here and wait for it, or take a walk and come back. Starved men; sick from constipation and malnutrition; conditioned by their training not to gather together and sack a grocery store, or burgle a house, or raid the cart of a peddler displaying chocolates, nuts, and fruits.

The missions are threatening the country with hoards of paupers. Let us hope the government can do better with its camps than merely make "inmates" out of the boys "on the road."

New York, December 20 BILL RAWLINSON

Justice for Greek Courts

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

I have been a reader of *The Nation* for nearly ten years and I am in general agreement with the social and economic philosophy of your journal. This association gives me the right to say that your editorial in the issue of November 15, 1933, commenting on the decision of the Greek court refusing the extradition of Samuel Insull was, to say the least, irresponsible. In the first sentence you implied that the Greek court's refusal to permit extradition was explained by its having been bribed by Insull. This is a perfectly unwarranted accusation. Ignorance is no excuse for such a statement and that is the only thing the writer of the editorial can claim. He does not know that the Greek courts have a tradition of independence, impartiality, and proud detachment from political or other considerations which places them above the courts of even the biggest countries in the world. It would take long to explain this phenomenon, but suffice it to say that the Greek judges are not elected or appointed by politicians, machines, or interested groups but are chosen after very severe examinations by a committee formed from the highest judicial officers and professors of the university, and their judicial conduct is watched continuously by their superiors.

New York, December 5 STEPHEN P. LADAS

A Word from Mr. Stern

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

I am highly gratified by your complimentary reference to my purchase of the New York *Evening Post*. You make a statement, however, on which I feel I must set you straight. You say: "Although we regret his championship of currency inflation, Mr. Stern is . . ."

I have never championed currency inflation. No paper I own has ever championed currency inflation. The New York *Evening Post* will not champion currency inflation, regarding all such proposals as blind, useless, and dangerous.

We have fought for a program of credit expansion, not currency inflation. We have pointed out that one of the broad bases of the depression is the shrinkage in the volume of bank credit from sixty billion dollars in 1929 to forty billion today. We are convinced that this shrinkage is the most important factor in the disastrous decline in prices. We have, therefore, urged restoration of part, at least, of the evaporated bank credit. Not by currency inflation, however, but by direct discounting of Treasury notes with the Federal Reserve Banks.

It is an essential part of our policy that this newly created credit shall be used to distribute purchasing power by (a) payment to depositors in closed banks, (b) unemployment relief, (c) public works. It is our basic thought not to inflate, but to restore credit and mass purchasing power to a normal level.

Philadelphia, December 18 J. DAVID STERN

Books and Kitchen Gadgets

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

The Highlander Folk School was started in the fall of 1932 at Monteagle, Tennessee, for the purpose of training rural and industrial workers for the new social order. The school is unique in that it combines a radical labor college with a broad cultural program of community education. Without compromising a frank revolutionary social philosophy, the school has become an organic part of the mountain community and is now a social and cultural center for a group of one hundred people. One object of the school is to demonstrate how much can be accomplished with very little money. The Monteagle school will operate on a budget of $50 a month including the living expenses of a staff of five.

A second unit of the school was started in December, 1933, at Allardt, Tennessee. A building will be erected with volunteer labor. In the meantime we shall have to live in a large empty farmhouse. Five members of the staff and two resident students are on the ground empty-handed. This is an urgent appeal for the following equipment or the cash equivalent: winter work clothes, rain coats and rubbers, twelve cots and mattress ticks, thirty-six blankets, army style preferred, twelve pillows and pillow cases, twenty-four sheets and towels, two sets of dishes, two sets of silverware, cooking utensils, kitchen gadgets, pressure cooker, dutch oven, paint and paint brushes, soap, canned goods and food of all kinds, books, especially in the field of social sciences, farming equipment.

A friend has offered us three dollars for every one dollar that we raise; thus every dollar contributed at this time is worth four dollars to us. Checks should be mailed to Kirby Page, Treasurer, Highlander Folk School, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York. Goods may be mailed direct to the school at Allardt.

HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL

Allardt, Tenn., December 15

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Books, Films, Drama

Are Reviewers Critics?

IT is my contention that the American reviewer of books is by no means a critic. To qualify as a critic, a reviewer should be somewhat judicial, show a certain knowledge of literature and history and some acquaintance with the meaning of the words he reads and uses. Hardly any American reviewers measure up to this standard.

The characteristic vices of American reviewing in general have surely never been better exemplified than in the reviews of "Anthony Adverse." I cannot, to be sure, see how anyone could read "Anthony Adverse" and remain unimpressed: it has an amazing number and variety of living characters, and the first two-thirds of it, at least, is extraordinarily readable. It is full of color and exciting episodes, and is in the main an admirable story, in spite of the fact that a tremendous amount of patient research has gone into building up the background. But I also cannot see how any reviewer could honestly think it a great book. Yet out of all the reviews I read I could find only one, *The Nation's*, which did not declare it epoch-making, though a few unofficial observers, like F. P. A. and Elmer Davis, did venture to stand against the united front of reviewers.

Let us begin with the leading review in the New York Sunday *Times*. "'Anthony Adverse' is America's most original contribution to the great tradition of the picaresque novel." The Oxford Dictionary says: "A picaresque novel is one which has a rogue for hero." Now if there is anything certain about Anthony, it is that he is not a rogue. He is almost painfully well-meaning in all his endeavors, and even though his slave-trading career was a little shady, it is represented to us as a very uncharacteristic episode in his life. He rises in the world by his own honest effort, and but for a sudden spurt of invention on the part of the author, would die a saint. He does not even misuse his great natural charm—that is, unless you expect chastity of your eighteenth-century heroes. "This necessary outline," the review goes on, "may be properly ignored except in so far as it establishes the stamina as well as the range of a novel which the word picaresque might misrepresent." I wonder if "Anthony Adverse" could fairly be said to outdo in stamina and range "Gil Blas," though the Spanish hero traveled only in Spain and, in my edition, lived through no more than 600 pages of adventures. In fact, are not stamina and range two of the characteristics of the great picaresque novels? "We should not be surprised, and we could not be anything but pleased, if 'Anthony Adverse' became the best-loved book of our time." And with this genteel pat on the head, the unfortunate Mr. Allen, who surely deserves better, is abandoned to a place among the Thornton Bourgeoisie.

The Sunday literary supplement of the New York *Herald Tribune* devoted most of its front page to an outline of the story. Among other general remarks which introduced this outline, the reviewer said: "A number of years ago a little jingle often was printed on bookplates and bookmarks which, if I recall it correctly, declared:

> There is no frigate like a book to bear us miles away,
> Nor any courser like a page of prancing poetry."

As the reader knows, the reviewer does not "recall it correctly," and it is not as a writer of little jingles that Emily Dickinson is remembered. The review concluded with a mention of Mr. Allen's "clear, lovely, and explicit prose." It may be as well at this moment to pluck for your admiration one of Mr. Allen's flowers. I do not pretend that the paragraph I cite is a fair example of Mr. Allen's style; but it is not the only instance of his overwriting, and it seems to me that any book which contains such passages should not go unchallenged. Consider his description of Faith Paleologus, who seduced Anthony: "Yet there was something too strange about her to name as a guilty one the quality that was uniquely hers. She seemed designed by the inscrutable for a use that was incomplete: for a purpose doomed to defeat by finding an end in itself. It was her hips." Surely this is one of the most glorious anti-climaxes in the history of letters. "They were not those of a woman, but of something else. A lemure's, perhaps," A woman with the hips of a spirit of the dead would indeed be too strange. "Exquisitely designed for the relief of lovers, they were inadequate for anything more. In their image was implicit an obstruction to life." It seems to me that any hips which could give relief to lovers had already done more than most hips. But what Mr. Allen is being so "clear, lovely, and explicit" about, the modest cannot hope to surmise.

The *New Republic* put the judgment of most reviewers clearly when it declared: "Its monumental bulk alone raises it above the common mass of novels into a region appreciably nearer the stars." Here I take refuge in the words of Elmer Davis: "I am unable to agree with most of our readers that a large book is necessarily a great book." Even if you concede that "Anthony Adverse" is to literature what the Empire State Building is to architecture, it is still possible to discover a gap between both and the stars. But at least the *New Republic* goes so far as to reassure us: "It will not be known as the Great American Novel."

The Book-of-the-Month Club *Bulletin* calls "Anthony Adverse" "one of the richest, liveliest, and most diversified kinds of story-telling, told by a poet and a scholar." Perhaps the bulletin should be considered as advertising and not as criticism, but in spite of Mr. Allen's wide reading, his scholarship is far from even. Thus in history, it seems to me that Mr. Allen is occasionally shaky. Take the following instance: Anthony is observing a military review conducted by Napoleon in 1802 in the Champs de Mars, consistently called "Champ," incidentally. This is his impression of the scene: "All the landscape from the Barrière de l'Etoile to the Pont d'Iena and from that bridge to the Tuileries began to move upon the Champs de Mars." But the battle to commemorate which the Pont d'Iena was named, if not constructed, was not fought until 1806. And in 1802, or at any other time, only a hero of romance could see the Etoile from the Champs de Mars.

Yet the reviewer for the *Saturday Review of Literature* declared: "Hervey Allen's knowledge of the past of which he writes seems complete and, whether complete or not, it is thoroughly satisfying to a reader who refuses to admit a peculiar ignorance of history." Certain as he was of his history, this reviewer was modest about his literature, for by far the greater part of his energies was devoted to disclaiming special

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knowledge. He says roundly: "If my knowledge of American fiction were more thorough than it is, I would say bluntly that 'Anthony Adverse' is the best historical novel that this country has produced. Pleading possible ignorance, I am almost certain that it is the best, and quite sure that it is the most ambitious." Well, if to speak "bluntly" of "Anthony Adverse" is to describe it in these terms, what would the reviewer have found to say "bluntly" of "The Scarlet Letter" or "Death Comes for the Archbishop" or "A Son of the Middle Border" or even "God's Angry Man," if the latest must be thought to be the greatest? Or does his "possible ignorance" include them?

To the reader who enjoyed "Anthony Adverse," these comments will seem unimportant and irrelevant. But the case of the reviewer is, I maintain, different. The main business of the critic is to be a critic. Why is it, then, that so many American reviewers are in the main content to praise or to decry, but reluctant to examine? Why do literary editors choose reviewers, as they would a jury, for lack of special knowledge?

At all events—and this is my point—whatever else "Anthony Adverse" has accomplished, it has shown up the reviewers.

K. S. THOMPSON

Memoirs of a Diplomat

What Me Befell. By J. J. Jusserand. Houghton Mifflin Company. $4.50.

A CONVENTIONAL diplomat in many ways, M. Jusserand was an exceptional one in his extraordinary capacity for friendships, his rare understanding and appreciation of the countries to which he was sent, and his genuine literary achievements. He was unusual also for his wit, his sparkling conversation, his knowledge of many things, and his ability to find time for scholarship, innumerable addresses, and the production of seventeen books, one in Latin, five in French, and eleven in English, of which his "Literary History of the English People," in three volumes, and his "Piers Plowman" are probably the most important. So great was his popularity that he was Minister only to Denmark and Ambassador only to the United States. He arrived in Washington in 1903. When he was recalled in 1924 for a reason that is not wholly clear, it was a great personal blow to him and a distinct loss to both the United States and France. It is no exaggeration to say that no other foreign ambassador was ever so close to the head of the country to which he was accredited as was Jusserand to Theodore Roosevelt, of whose "tennis Cabinet" he was a member, with whom he talked books, history, politics at all hours of the day and night, and whom he accompanied on those madcap hikes around Washington which were at once the joy and the horror of official Washington. The closeness of this relationship led to great expectations of the posthumous and, sadly enough, unfinished work before us.

It is not possible to say that M. Jusserand's book throws any new light on the first President Roosevelt, whose remarkable versatility is herein again set forth, together with those endearing traits which made him so beloved by all his intimates. The record here does not show that M. Jusserand was wholly up to date at the time he wrote this volume. At least his treatment of the taking of the Panama Canal Zone, and other episodes, is incomplete, and it is obvious that, like so many of those close to the Rough Rider President, he was unable to be critical or detached in his picture of one of the most fascinating of men. He does, however, bring out some facts more clearly, as, for example, Roosevelt's steadily growing distrust of the Kaiser, and the part which Jusserand himself played in inducing the President to bring about the Algeciras conference on Morocco—another case in which we violated George Washington's farewell advice and became involved in a purely European situation in which we should never have taken part, even though we got out of it well. During the days leading up to that conference Jusserand was really at times acting as Secretary of State for Roosevelt. On April 25, 1906, President Roosevelt wrote to Jusserand that it was due more to him than to any other man "that the year which has closed has not seen a war between Germany and France." As for the Algeciras conference, Roosevelt went on, Jusserand was the man "most instrumental in having this kind of conference arranged for. I came into the matter most unwillingly and I could not have come into it at all if I had not possessed entire confidence alike in your unfailing soundness of judgment and in your high integrity . . ."

Such a relationship between a President and an ambassador has its tremendous dangers as well as its opportunities. M. Jusserand proves that being so close to an Administration makes it impossible to obtain, or at least to record, a general view of the scene before him. We have no picture of the struggle of the country as a whole to free itself from the shackles of special privilege and big business—which have now been loosened far more, though perhaps only temporarily, by the second Roosevelt than by the ever-compromising first. Perhaps the truth is that life flowed very easily for Jusserand. He was devotedly happy in his married life; he had private means; he led the dual life of littérateur and diplomat; he had devoted friends and superb health and strength—so it is not to be wondered at that he was without James Bryce's deep interest in the travail of America and other democracies, that no single problem of general uplift or social justice figures in these pages. For him the old-fashioned political game was entirely satisfying; his supreme happiness lay in his close friendships with the King of Denmark and the President of the United States. He was useful in the making of the Russo-Japanese peace in 1905, as well as in the Morocco matter, but he held the old belief that the world could be run by secret diplomacy, and bluffing and battleships and war, and grabbing the territory of others. Indeed, no part of his earlier life seemed to please Jusserand more than the role he played in getting Morocco for France by the same old stealing, steady encroachments, and then using the excuse of a native uprising to finish the job of depriving the "backward peoples" of their sovereignty.

Jusserand even approved of the Germans doing a little of this—but not too much. That is the only note of friendliness to the Germans. All through this book runs the intense war-time hatred apparently unchanged as late as July 14, 1932, when the last words were penned. There is no burying of the hatchet. Recognition of the post-war revelations as to the origins of the war it was impossible to expect, first, because that would have involved severe criticism of the diplomacy of his own country, and, secondly, because death ended his writing when he had only reached the close of Theodore Roosevelt's rule. This is a misfortune, for he might have thrown some light on the mystery of the change in President Wilson between his "peace without victory" speech of January 23, 1917, and the declaration of war, in addition to painting a picture of Wilson and Washington in war time.

All through the volume run complete content with his country's own record and conduct and similarly complete satisfaction with the fine speeches and nice achievements of M. J. J. Jusserand. It is quite naive and harmless vanity, though the listing of his oratorical successes palls at times. On the other hand, the book contains many amusing anecdotes and stories, and is, of course, charming. His characterizations of public

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men—except the Kaiser—suffer from his wholesale admiration of those of whom he writes; he remained the diplomat to the end. The last page of the manuscript is reproduced pictorially. It is in the same small, delicate handwriting in which many book reviews came for publication to the office of *The Nation*, especially during the editorship of Wendell P. Garrison.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Grand Tour

The Journey. By Rose Caylor. Covici-Friede. $2.50.

MISS CAYLOR'S novel has all the proper qualifications for one of those very rare, completely absorbing, and slightly hysterical experiences of the character, say, of a light leap off the tower of the Empire State Building. It produces the same exhilaration, presumably, and the same faint suspicion that there is more to the deed than the gesture. It is spectacular and foolish; it is witty, very funny, and rather sad. It is not to be recommended to the stricter adherents of the Genteel Tradition. The hero is no gentleman although he is the most exasperating and amusing young man to be met in recent fiction, and the heroine, alas, is a most common and typical, ten-cent-store-variety American beauty. Yet for all readers who are not embarrassed to acknowledge Mark Twain as an American, this book should be a major event.

The "journey" is Caryl's fateful passage from tawdry, dream-filled adolescence to equally tawdry, disillusioned maturity, and it takes no longer than a few summer months, owing a little to the absurd Jimmy but mostly to the dear girls. Besides her ticket to New Orleans—where Jimmy fled right after their marriage ceremony in Chicago—and her bags, Caryl travels equipped only with her clichés—"a woman's place is with her husband"—and the education gained from the fiction magazines, rotogravure sections, advertisements, and movies. It is, of course, an equipment which suffices for many American marriages, but marriage with Jimmy is no ordinary affair. Jimmy is a newspaperman, a cynic who wears an overcoat in summer, and once, as a member of the Rainbow Division, spent several hours at the bottom of a German latrine. Moreover, he has an annoying and well-developed faculty for being entirely self-sufficient at exactly the wrong times. And he has odd friends, like Rixo, who also wears an overcoat in summer and was in the same latrine, and Mr. Gardener, who apparently is a mute, and Victor, the pugnacious undertaker's assistant. Naturally the girls only make matters worse.

Out of the wasteland of crusading, persecuting wives Miss Caylor revives some; from behind their plates of chicken à la king, their ormolu and taffeta drapes, she draws others. One group flaps about Caryl like so many righteous harpies mouthing their imagined wrongs; the others, wiser birds of prey, too practical to waste time on suspicion and bickering, enjoy their drinks and systematically gather diamonds as safeguards against the next inevitable divorce. Neither sisterhood escapes Miss Caylor's robust scorn; each is shown up in all its parasitical futility and grotesqueness, but in the latter she admits a shade more friendliness. It is one of the ormolu ladies, anxious to help a visiting author find material in New Orleans, who remembers the leper colony and asks, "Why don't you try, hon', to work the lepers in?"

So brief a résumé of "The Journey" is really only an offering of nickels where millions wait to be enjoyed. It can give no clue to the leisured style so rich in tangents of associations and reflections, or to the magnificent details of character and situation. The callow horror of Caryl's married life can only be intimated, and the chief merit of the book not even suggested. Within the broad farce of "The Journey" is some of the best social satire since "Babbitt."

FLORENCE CODMAN

Mr. Belloc's Theory of History

Charles the First, King of England. By Hilaire Belloc. J. B. Lippincott Company. $4.

"IT is not my case alone," said Charles Stuart, on trial for his life before a hostile Parliament. "It is the freedom and liberty of the people of England, and do you pretend what you will, I stand more for their liberties, for if power without law may make laws . . . I do not know what subject he is in England that can be sure of his life or anything that he calls his own." Here, in this speech, lies the clue to Hilaire Belloc's interest in the "martyred king," for here it is made plain that Charles shared his biographer's views on government. The subjects of Mr. Belloc's biographies are chosen not at random, not out of sentiment, not out of interest in a period. Danton, Marie Antoinette, Richelieu, Wolsey—they are all selected to illustrate and to develop a theory of history which he began to formulate thirty years ago. This most recent biography, in which the subject himself expresses the theory, might well be the climax of Mr. Belloc's writing.

The theory is based upon an admiration for the democratic ideal. Mr. Belloc believes that the fulfilment of that ideal, "the greatest good of the greatest number," can best be achieved through an absolute monarchy. He conceives this to be only superficially a paradox. Under the feudal system, which was built and bulwarked by the church, ownership—which spells power—was not the exclusive privilege of the few. On the contrary, almost every man held his piece of land, down to the meanest villein, who held it only for life. An unbroken chain of responsibility extended from serf to lord to greater lord and eventually to king. In this chain lay the king's power. Yet—and fortunately for the democratic ideal—the king, ever jealous of the potential power of the great nobles, allied himself with the poor, and so in the class struggle a neat balance of power was established. Unfortunately, this system, early debilitated by war and plague and famine, had its chief prop knocked from under it when the Reformation attacked the church. The nobles and middle classes enriched themselves; the king grew poorer and weaker by the year. At last the breakdown was complete: an oligarchy of the rich ruled; the kingship was merely a vestigial trace of another age; capitalism had arrived, and with it the economic enslavement of the proletariat.

The ill-starred reign of Charles I was, in Mr. Belloc's opinion, one of the crises in the tremendous struggle between oligarchy and monarchy. With the impact of these titanic forces, the small figure of the king was crushed. With his death true monarchy died, yet his failure was not so much a personal defeat as it was the defeat of the medieval idea. This is the thesis of "Charles the First," and it is a thesis which compels the work to be less a biography than a study of the warring economic and spiritual forces which existed in England in the seventeenth century.

Mr. Belloc finds the economic forces to have been more important than anyone has ever supposed. Because of economic conditions the king was marked for defeat from the start. The inflation of the currency, which had been brought about by the influx of American gold into Europe, enriched the gentry and impoverished the king, whose principal revenue came in fixed sums. No amount of playing with the pound could better the situation; prices obstinately rose; and the nearly bankrupt Crown was at the mercy of the newly rich gentry which made up the Parliament. The gentry was as avaricious as it was rich; it resisted taxation until resistance became rebellion. So it appears that the Eliots and Hampdens and Pyms and Cromwells were not single-minded religious fanatics, disinterested warriors for justice; they were shrewd business men with an eye to the

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future. This throws the whole story of the Great Rebellion into a new and arresting light. Naturally, considering Mr. Belloc's prejudices, it is a light that is kind to the hapless king.

Occasionally it is too kind. Mr. Belloc errs in attempting to make his picture too nearly perfect, his theory too watertight. Charles was a hero and a man of honor, Mr. Belloc would have us believe. In the main, that is true. But Mr. Belloc would make him completely a man of honor, and thereby he falsifies his statement. He says that Charles's great weakness as a statesman was that he could not tell a lie. As a matter of fact, Charles told hundreds of barefaced lies: he lied to Spain, to France, to the Catholics, to the Protestants, to the Parliament, to the Scotch Covenanters. The point was that he could not tell a good lie. Again, Mr. Belloc would like to prove that by the time of Charles monarchy had fallen into disrepute through a series of weak rulers. This is partially true: Mary and Edward and James were weak. But Mr. Belloc dislikes partial truths and, to make a perfect generalization, insists, without evidence, that Elizabeth was weak, referring to her complacently throughout the book as "the unfortunate Elizabeth." There are other examples: he turns the feckless Duke of Buckingham, the favorite of Charles, into the Father of the English navy.

Yet in spite of these flaws, which seem to indicate an admirable passion for perfection, his theory holds surprisingly well. He has made Charles and his opponents convincing characters. Indeed, he has done something more important; he has made monarchy and oligarchy a pair of believable and powerful protagonists. In a vigorous prose of slightly archaic flavor, he has steered this tightly reasoned biography safely past sentimentality, pedantry, and the modern brand of psychological guesswork.

MARY MCCARTHY

Study of a Child

The Beginning of a Mortal. By Max Miller. Illustrated by John Sloan. E. P. Dutton and Company. $2.50.

THIS delightful book is devoted to unrelated episodes in the life of a small boy reared in a sawmill town on the Pacific Coast and on a ranch in Montana. The author has a singularly retentive memory, not only for the detailed incidents of his boyhood, but also for the emotional tone that accompanied them, and the mental bewilderment that resulted when he tried to fit the inscrutable behavior of adults into a small boy's cosmos. Each of the twenty chapters deals with a separate incident in the life of his family and his neighbors, briefly and lucidly told. And almost every one of them ends with a situation in which the boy is befuddled by what some older person has said or done, and is screwing up his courage to ask a question whose answer he burns to know, but seldom gets. The simplicity and restraint with which each incident is told suggests nothing so much as a style nurtured on the English Bible, in which book the child's grave and conscientious parents evidently believed devoutly. They appear also to have believed that a small boy should keep his random ideas to himself. And his scanty supply of neighbors seemed ironically intent upon teasing him with remarks that roused more questions than they answered. I can recall no more accurate picture of the wistful charm of a sturdy child's mind trying to make sense out of what it sees and hears, and having a hard but rather exciting time doing it.

The illustrations are conceived and executed in the spirit of the text. One feels that the artist had a small boy at his elbow, reminding him in agitated whispers not to forget to adorn his sketch with the alarm clock on Lawrence's shelf and the glasses on Annie's nose. But with all due credit to the author and the illustrator one cannot but feel that if the author's mother was the photographer who took the snapshot of her son at the age of seven, she is a more consummate artist than either of them. All the character study of the 253 pages is expressed in that shrewd, reticent, competent little fellow, with his hands in his pockets, who adorns the frontispiece. One would have to go to the Dutch painters to find such an inspired portrait of a child. If the book is about the "beginning of a mortal," the snapshot by this unknown artist shows at a glance that at the age of seven he was well begun. One wonders if such a complete small boy could be produced anywhere but on the American frontier.

E. R. WEMBRIDGE

Japanese Proletarian Writers

The Cannery Boat by Takiji Kobayashi and Other Japanese Short Stories. International Publishers. $1.50.

SEVERAL years ago, in Japan, proletarian writers were popular. They were featured in the capitalist press as well as in the proletarian journals because they drew circulation. But when the Manchurian adventure was being prepared, the Japanese government launched its first offensive against them. The revolutionary press was driven underground; the columns of bourgeois periodicals were closed to its writers; and Kobayashi, one of Japan's few major writers in modern times, was killed. However, in the few years permitted for its development, proletarian literature in Japan showed remarkable vigor and variety. In presenting examples of this literature "The Cannery Boat" can be considered as one of the important publications of the year.

The question of what is proletarian literature will in the long run be answered by examples rather than by definitions. Here are excellent examples of proletarian writing. What are its characteristics? They vary with each of the seven writers represented. Kobayashi, who is the most stirring, makes use of bold and picturesque metaphor; Kuroshima, in his remarkable story The Factory in the Sea, shows a careful plot structure and makes use of romantic motivations; Teppei Kataoka employs a denouement reminiscent of Maupassant. Some of the stories are direct, factual pieces of reporting that have the peculiar eloquence of good reporting; others are built on sentiment. In other words, there are as many manners as there are writers, and the fear some American writers have expressed that proletarian literature must suffer from a dull sameness is groundless if we are to judge from these examples.

There is, however, a uniformity of content. All the stories deal with the class struggle. The Cannery Boat, unfortunately abridged here to comply with censorship regulations, has for its characters the crews which catch and pack the crab meat that comes, tinned, to American tables. It describes their exploitation, which is excused by the shipowners in the name of patriotism. These cannery boats, working off the Siberian coasts, are a demonstration of Japanese power to Soviet Russia, and the conditions borne by the workers are a token of Japanese virility and endurance. Other stories deal with a strike in a Soy factory, conditions of the silk weavers, telegraph linesmen mending wires blown down by a storm, and dispossessed farmers.

If to the American writer the subject matter seems restricted, he should read this volume to see what variety it affords. After all, the subject matter of most Occidental literature in the last several centuries has been uniform—consisting mainly of the incidents and conflicts in the sexual relationship between men and women. Original writers have never failed to make new discoveries in it; and powerful writers have never failed to give it freshness by their intensity. Certainly the class struggle, with its special relationships between the classes and

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with its individuals within and between the classes, offers at least as much scope.

Everyone interested in the course of the short story should by all means read this book. But even more, everybody interested in contemporary political developments should read it. In showing the revolutionary movement in its Japanese setting it makes amazingly clear the truly international nature of that movement. The setting of these stories is, for us, picturesque, but it becomes clear that revolutionary workers in Japan think, organize, demonstrate, and act like revolutionary workers in America, like the triumphant revolutionary workers in Russia, like the revolutionary workers of China, described so vividly in Agnes Smedley's recent book, "Chinese Destinies." The power and courage and persistence of the revolutionary movement, checked but not defeated by fascist reactions, is made stirringly real in this collection.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER

Shorter Notices

Chronicle of an Infamous Woman. By David Liebovitz. The Macaulay Company. $2.

"Infamous" is the qualification her Adirondack neighbors bestow on Martina when it becomes known that she is living with other men while her husband lies dying. The myth of her infamy continues to grow during her attempts to make a respectable second marriage and to be just about her last love affair. Mr. Liebovitz would distinguish truth from myth by acting at times as a research writer who has access to Martina's diary and who therefore has the authority to defend her, and at times as a novelist who must create the characters and sequence of events mentioned in the diary. This mixture of attitudes and methods is not successful, in part because the difficulties involved in creating and interweaving the myth and the reality are not met with any great skill, and in part because neither the myth nor the object of the myth seems very important. Martina is a plausible character (her name if not legion is familiar enough), but to attempt in such a complex manner as Mr. Liebovitz's to say that she was honest with herself and bore no malice to the society that enjoyed calling her infamous is not to endow her with special disinction.

The Finished Scoundrel. By Royal Ornan Shreve. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $3.

From the beginning of the Revolutionary War until the end of the War of 1812 General James Wilkinson took an active part in the military and political affairs of the United States. He rose to be commander-in-chief of the forces of the United States and held that position with incompetence and unscrupulousness for many years. His career was extraordinary because of the facility with which he always seemed to get out of the political and financial scrapes in which he involved himself in the struggle to support his extravagance and his ego. Those scrapes extended all the way from treason, in connection with the Burr conspiracy to separate the Southwest from the United States, to petty peculation of rations while in command at New Orleans. General Wilkinson survived the Burr treason trial, two courts martial, and ignominious defeat before Canada in the War of 1812. He had the support of President Jefferson and the toleration of President Madison. Hamilton wrote to Washington that Wilkinson was "a man of more than ordinary talent, courage, and enterprise," a judgment with which Washington agreed, though neither of them trusted the General. As he comes out in the pages of Mr. Shreve's cluttered and scattered account, General Wilkinson is a paltry figure, who seems to have attained the position he did as a result of a great deal of energy, a talent for intrigue, and the lack of better men to lead the inefficient armies of the United States at the time. Mr. Shreve's book is unfortunately written in the breathless vernacular of a radio announcer. The biography loses the interest which the material possesses through the author's inability to fuse it into a coherent and interesting narrative.

Our Times: The United States, 1900-1925. Volume V: *Over Here, 1914-1918.* By Mark Sullivan. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.75.

In this story of the back of the front, of those who kept the home fires burning, Mr. Sullivan continues his method—popularized by a score of imitators—of presenting history largely through newspaper headlines, text, and cartoons; by the songs and slang and slogans of the period; by the books that were written and the plays that were produced. America's war effort in France is not described in this volume. It is the story of how the United States—aloof and uncomprehending in 1914—was relentlessly pushed and pulled into the European whirlpool, and of the vivid and spectacular procession of events which ensued. Perhaps the narrative is less understanding, less alertly informed than its immediate predecessor—the tale of Roosevelt's retirement and Taft's regime—but the period itself was so highly volatile and hysterical that it is hard even yet to precipitate it, and Mr. Sullivan's own relation to the era was less sure. One feels, though, that his appraisal of the chief figure of the epoch, President Wilson—a man who rose and fell through devotion to words and ideals—will be accepted as just except among those still bitterly partisan.

Comedy American Style. By Jessie Fauset. Frederick A. Stokes Company. $2.

So closely do Miss Fauset's characters adhere to the color line—in that we never see them except when they are reacting to the question of "passing" or staying colored—that one must defer to her superior knowledge of their specialized psychology, and take them on faith. "Comedy American Style" is a well-written problem novel, dealing with that isolated group of people who exist on the border-line of race, and pointing the moral that it is better for the Negro of mixed blood to stay with his kind. The title is well chosen for a country where the presence of blond Negroes gives an especially ironic emphasis to the comedy of racial purity.

Psychoanalysis and Its Derivatives. By H. Crichton-Miller. Henry Holt and Company. $1.25.

Some years ago William McDougall suggested the group name of the "school of integral psychology" for a number of psychologists in the United States and Europe who, he believed, were not caught too securely in the web of some favorite system of psychology and psychotherapy but were free to pick from each what was scientifically most sound. Among others he included H. Crichton-Miller. Dr. Miller's book now being reviewed is a highly critical and unusually impartial study of the four systems of psychology developed by Freud, Jung, Adler, and Prinzhorn—the author betrays some leaning toward Prinzhorn, who in the study represents the eclectic school. The basic concepts of each system are presented, plus two chapters devoted to their contrasts. The material is carefully analyzed for the reader, similarities and differences are clearly defined, and many obscure points are clarified. In addition, there is a carefully chosen bibliography. The interested layman who has perhaps been overwhelmed during the past few years with a too great abundance of literature on the subject and the professional psychologist who is in need of evaluating the concepts he follows will both find the book immensely valuable. For the less well-informed it offers a concise and lucid presentation of the intricacies of psychoanalysis and an eclectic psychology.

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Modern Man in Search of a Soul. By C. G. Jung. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.

By far the most interesting item in this collection of essays and speeches is The Spiritual Problem of the Modern Man, in which Jung has embodied some of his most important speculations. The essential characteristic of the modern man is, he says, just the fact that his intense individualism and his loss of faith in any group standards have thrown him back upon psychology as a last resort. Truly "modern men" are rare, and when the term is used it is not to be taken by any means to signify "average men," for the true "modern man" is one who has not merely broken with the past but is seeking to justify that break. Where such are found they are, however, set apart by the fact that they are acutely aware of the importance of their unconscious inheritance and concerned with the effort to find in it the solution to the problems which were solved in the past by tradition. The psychoanalyst is engaged in the effort to aid them, but it is not yet certain how much psychoanalysis can do, and Jung quotes the ominous motto which Freud affixed to his "Interpretation of Dreams": "If I cannot bend the gods on high, I will at least set Acheron in an uproar." All the essays in the volume are marked by that tentative as well as eclectic attitude which so strikingly distinguishes the author from the other leading psychoanalysts.

Thackeray. By G. V. Ellis. Great Lives Series. The Macmillan Company. 75 cents.

This is one of the few biographies in the series which attempts the Stracheyan manner. Not being successful it becomes one of the least successful of the biographies in the series. It makes the point that in his life, as well as in his novels, Thackeray was an eighteenth-century figure lost in the nineteenth. The point is interesting but is given too much importance.

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On sale now at leading news-stands:—Morris A. Bealle explodes the "Smear Huey Long" campaign by the enemies of the All-American Kingfish; Bryce Oliver passes an orchid (well deserved) to John F. Curry and Tammany Hall; names are named in Brooklyn's "hot" Beer terrorism; Henry Victor Clay warns of Bootleg Medicine and the "Tugwell" Bill; many others.
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Films

Retrospect: 1933

THIS is the season when the American public indulges to the full its fondness for list-making, its almost medieval passion for tabulation. But while the magic of numbers may be as potent in the screen world as elsewhere, the task of compiling the Ten Best Films of the Year is one that involves more ingenuity than judgment. For the sad truth is that except for three or four films every year the productions of Hollywood are on such a uniform level of quality that the making of distinctions between them gets down to the most futile sort of quibbling and hair-splitting. What is the exact value of determining, for example, whether "I Cover the Waterfront" was a shade better or a shade worse than "Advice to the Lovelorn"? If it is objected that this making of fine distinctions is the business of criticism in every field of art, one must point out that there are times when one must think of the Hollywood cinema less as an art than as an industry. At such times its quantitative aspects seem more important than its qualitative. And for this reason it seems more profitable at this time to offer a few generalizations about its output as a whole during the past year than to attempt to arrange the separate items in that output in any sort of pleasing order. What can be said, in general, therefore, of the advance made by the Hollywood talking picture during the year 1933?

Anyone who has been at all faithful in his devotions throughout the year must be convinced that there has been an advance. Technically, the sound-film in America has been brought to a point of development far exceeding even the most optimistic hopes of its champions of four or five years ago. Mechanical processes of recording sound and of articulating it properly with the photographic image have improved simultaneously with the ability of directors to use it as an integral element of a complex art. This has been as much the result of study and experience as of the final reduction of the novelty of sound on the screen. The great successes of the year, "Cavalcade" and "Little Women," have been first and foremost technical triumphs, since neither of the stories on which these films were based would have been nearly so effective for a contemporary American audience without the special vitalization which the new medium made possible. In both films an admirable balance was struck between the best elements of both the literary drama and the old-fashioned silent screen. The failures were films like "The Silver Cord" and "Our Betters" in which a too literal translation of original stage plays resulted only in dull, sluggish, and unconvincing theater. Experiment in the use of special sound effects, while it has only just begun, has been marked in types as far apart as the musical operetta and the scientific fantasy. In the latter department, James Whale's "Invisible Man" has been the most remarkable tour de force. An interesting and too little appreciated experiment in narrative technique was to be seen in "The Power and the Glory." But one may sum all this up by saying that those responsible for the talking picture in this country have now attained to a knowledge and mastery of its resources which make of it an unsurpassed medium for the expression of whatever there may be to express in our time.

What it has so far expressed, it must be admitted, has been no more significant, no less confused, than what is to be found in most other forms of expression at the moment. "Cavalcade," as far as its content was concerned, was a foggy mixture of romantic nostalgia and half-hearted British jingoism. "Little Women," which is the best-mounted and best-directed film of

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the year, is after all no more than a sweetly picturesque evocation of an unfortunately altogether irrevocable past. From the standpoint of theme, the most enterprising picture of the year was "The Power and the Glory"; but certain details of treatment considerably weakened its effectiveness. "I Am a Fugitive" and "Wild Boys of the Road" were efforts at documentary social criticism which missed their mark through being canceled out at the end by the note of sentimental reform. The proletarian note, creeping in slyly in Lubitsch's "Trouble in Paradise," becomes a sporadic outcry in "Westward Passage" and the more recent "Counsellor-at-Law." Sex, on the other hand, has won through to almost incredible triumphs of articulateness in such pictures as "The Story of Temple Drake," "Design for Living," and Mae West's "She Done Him Wrong." In brief, the talking picture, like pretty much everything else in the present period, reflects the evasion, the abandonment, and the confusion of the period.

The new importation at the Acme is the work of Fedor Ozep, a member of the so-called histrionic school of Russian direction which was replaced by the dialectic school of Eisenstein and Pudovkin. "Mirages de Paris" is a pretty bald imitation of René Clair's various successful attempts at rendering the physical and moral *climat* of left-bank Paris. There is a burlesque of an operatic number straight out of "Le Million" and a flat use of the singing chorus. The trouble is undoubtedly that the Russian director is not at all at home in these Parisian garrets and back-stages of music halls. His failure to make anything of them merely emphasizes for us the essentially French nature of Clair's talent.

WILLIAM TROY

Drama

Tempest and Sunshine

UPON "Jezebel" (Ethel Barrymore Theater) a good many managerial hopes appear to have been built. The theory evidently was that the long-prophesied revival of romance was due at last, and that if a romance was wanted, Owen Davis could be depended upon to turn out a job more workman-like than most. Mr. McClintic then did the very best he knew how in the matter of presentation, and Miriam Hopkins succeeded without effort in looking very lovely indeed in the role of the she-devil with a heart of gold. Unfortunately, however, the final fruit of all this well-meaning competence failed to produce upon the audience anything like the effect that was obviously hoped for. There was polite applause and probably a sincere disposition on the part of friends to congratulate everybody concerned. Indeed, such obvious pains and such respectable results hardly deserve any less. But no one is likely to think very much more about the whole business, or to wonder for very long either whether the heroine's reform was permanent or whether her own true love recovered from yellow fever on that terrible lepers' island to which she had determined to follow him.

The scene is the deep South just before the Civil War, and Miss Hopkins appears as a reigning beauty in whom the hot blood of the terrible Kendricks runs with its destructive force. When she learns that the lover whom she has expected to wait for her has got himself married to a Yankee belle, trouble is sure to follow and it promptly does—against a background positively cluttered with all the accessories of ante bellum romance. There are singing darkies, high-flown compliments, points of honor, and crinolines too wide to go through the door. There are also a stately dinner, a moss-covered oak, a duel at dawn, and a comic house nigger with a proper contempt for Abolitionist agents. On the dramatic side there is a big scene when all the heroine's guests make it plain that even a Kendrick can go too far, and another big scene when she rises purified through suffering. Yet despite the "Yes Suh," of the blacks, the "you alls" of their masters, and a good deal of really lovely scenery and costuming, nothing seems to result except a rather pretty pageant participated in by highly decorative puppets.

Probably no one is entirely to blame, and I am inclined to think—"Anthony Adverse" notwithstanding—that the public is merely not quite ready to return to histrionics so simple as those upon which this play bases its appeal. Perhaps we are morbid and sophisticated and corrupt. Perhaps our habit of demanding rank flavors when we cannot get psychological subtleties is all wrong. But the fact remains that we are no longer content with the kind of situation and the kind of characterization which used to be good enough for our fathers—in the theater at least. Goodness only knows, Miss Hopkins is made wicked enough, and goodness only knows, the color is laid on with a lavish hand, but something is obviously lacking. Perhaps it is subtlety of characterization, or merely freshness of pattern. Perhaps, on the other hand, it is something more complicated and less tangible which we will have to call contemporaneous feeling. All the motives are understandable enough and even believable enough, but nothing ever becomes more than merely picturesque because nothing ever strikes a chord to which we are particularly sensitive. No one, I suppose, would actually mistake "Jezebel" for a play written fifty years ago, but it might easily be mistaken for a revision of some such work. In other words, there is nothing in it which can mean anything different to us than it would have meant to an audience of the eighties. The themes, the characterizations, and the emotions are unmistakably old-fashioned, and one finds oneself thinking, almost inevitably, of Albion Tourgée, Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth, or even of Mr. Davis himself in that now almost legendary period when he was writing about Nellie the Beautiful Cloak Model. Perhaps many a contemporary play is not really any more subtle, but fashion counts for much in everything except the really first-rate.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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